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Kossuth, Lajos.

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KOSSUTH

IN

NEW ENGLAND:

A FULL ACCOUNT OF THE

HUNGARIAN GOVERNOR'S VISIT TO MASSACHUSETTS;

WITH

HIS SPEECHES,

AND

THE ADDRESSES THAT WERE MADE TO HIM,

CAREFULLY REVISED AND CORRECTED.

WITH AN APPENDIX.

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EDITOR'S PREFACE.

IN making this collection of Kossuth's speeches in New England, I have thought it advisable to combine with it a descriptive account of his visit, with full details of the incidents of his reception in the various cities and towns. These are taken almost wholly from the local newspapers, and from the daily reports in the Boston and New York journals. I have used freely, the reports of Mr. Coggshall, in the Tribune; and still more freely those of Mr. List, in the Commonwealth. To the latter, in fact, I am indebted for most of the descriptive part, and for nearly all the copies I have used of Kossuth's speeches. In general, the reports of the visits are taken with as little alteration as possible, and a good deal has been admitted that my own taste would have led me to reject. But, as the record of a most interesting event in the history of Massachusetts, it seemed to me that the book ought to contain, as nearly as possible, the impression that Kossuth's visit made upon eye-witnesses, trained to observe and to communicate their observations, and the account of it that was read from day to day by the people, whose guest he was.

The addresses made to Kossuth form an important part of the book. In almost every case, they have been revised, at my request, by the speakers themselves. On the whole, they well sustain the reputation of Massachusetts for eloquence; and it may be doubted whether any other state which Kossuth visited can offer an equally respectable array of addresses to him.

For revised copies of these addresses, and for reports of Kossuth's reception in various parts of the state, I am indebted to the editors of the Springfield Republican, the Worcester Spy, the Plymouth Rock, and the Lynn Bay State. Also, to the Hon. A. N. Skinner, Mayor of New Haven; to Hon. Henry Wilson, President of the Senate; to Hon. N. P. Banks, Jr., Speaker of the House; to Hon. Anson Burlingame; to Hon. S. C. Phillips, Hon. W. B. Calhoun, Hon. C. W. Upham, Hon. Foster Hooper; to Richard Frothingham, Jr., Esq., Mayor of Charlestown; and to Messrs. Erastus Hopkins, Wm. B. Greene, George Allen, Jr., Ralph Waldo Emerson, and Charles M. Ellis. To Mr. A. J. Marsh, of Holden, I am indebted for a phonographic report of the Kossuth meeting, in the City Hall, at Worcester, from which I have copied the speeches of Messrs. Kellogg and Burlingame, of which no report has heretofore been given. There has been considerable controversy about the speech of Mr. Burlingame, which I have therefore given in full, from Mr. Marsh's report, the accuracy of which I can testify to, from my own distinct recollection of the speech.

By the liberality of the publisher, the profits of the sale of this book will be given to Kossuth. It remains only to add, that the official documents in the Appendix have been obtained from authentic sources, and that the uncommon interest of Kossuth's last speech or lecture in New York has induced me to give it insertion at the end of the volume.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., *July* 10, 1852.

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KOSSUTH IN NEW ENGLAND.

INVITATION TO MASSACHUSETTS.

THE Legislature of Massachusetts came together on Wednesday, January 7, 1852. On that day, on motion of the Honorable Charles Theodore Russell, of Boston, a senator from the county of Suffolk, the Senate ordered that "a committee, with such of the House as may join, be appointed to consider the expediency of inviting Louis Kossuth to visit the capital of the state, and tender him the hospitalities of the commonwealth."

Messrs. Russell of Suffolk, Burlingame of Middlesex, and Griswold of Franklin, were appointed as the committee on the part of the Senate.

On the same day, the House of Representatives, by unanimous vote, concurred in the order from the Senate. On motion, however, of Mr. Erastus Hopkins of Northampton, the vote was reconsidered; and, on the next day, January 8, Mr. Hopkins asked leave to introduce the following resolution:

"Resolved, That His Excellency the Governor be authorized and empowered, in the name and in behalf of the people of this commonwealth, to invite Louis Kossuth to visit this capital during the present session of the Legislature."

Mr. Hopkins said he did not move the reconsideration of the vote of yesterday, concurring in the order of the Senate, because opposed to the measure, but because, on inspecting it, he saw that it provided for a committee to *consider the expediency* of inviting Kossuth. He was well aware that this was parliamentary phraseology; but he thought the present occasion justified a departure from the more rigid (and ordinarily more safe) parliamentary forms. There was not a man in that House,—nor was he willing to suppose that there was one in any of the branches of the government,—who really wished to *con-*

sider the expediency of inviting Louis Kossuth. Hospitality is not a matter of expediency. He would break away from the forms, which, though parliamentary, were on this occasion so awkward and cumbersome; and therefore he asked leave to introduce directly a resolve extending at once the invitation, in which he presumed that all were ready to join.

A leading reason for action in this matter was the shortness of time. How soon Kossuth might by events be recalled to Europe precipitately, we could not divine. At any rate, he was already laying his plans with reference to the vast west, and no time should be lost in extending to him the invitation to visit Massachusetts. He did not think the ordinary caution of a diplomatic body was required of us. As a state government we had no diplomatic character, and were not, therefore, called upon to weigh our words and actions, and to adjust all our looks and courtesies, as though they were to affect diplomatic circles. We were simply representatives of the popular will. We well know what that will is,—that if Kossuth should come into our borders, every hamlet and fireside would be almost deserted, that the people might look upon and press the hand of this great man, whose person and whose cause find such a warm response in every heart. We were merely to express that feeling. It was genuine, all-pervading, gushing; and, in the *name of that people*, we empower the governor at once to extend to him the proposed invitation. In form, it was simple; in language, entirely unexceptionable.

Mr. Hopkins said there was a fear in some quarters that such action would lead and commit us to some ulterior acts of an objectionable character. He had no such fear. The way to control a popular sentiment, when it was so natural and generous as this is, is to give it a full and hearty expression.

Those who, though conservative, would repress it, were really the ones who provoked it to excessive and unruly action. He was, therefore, for passing the resolve at once, and giving full expression, so far forth, to the generous feeling which pervaded all who heard him, as well as the entire people of the state.

Mr. Hayden of Boston asked the gentleman from Northampton what he would gain by having leave granted to introduce the resolve, as then, under the rules, it must go to a committee.

Mr. Hopkins replied that he intended, of course, to move a suspension of the rules, and to claim, what he felt sure he must receive, the

unanimous consent of the House, who were all anxious to extend the hospitalities of the commonwealth as indicated in the resolve.

Messrs. Kellogg of Pittsfield, Schouler of Boston, and Earle of Worcester, supported the resolution. Leave was granted unanimously for its introduction; the rules were suspended, the resolution read three times, and passed to be engrossed by a unanimous vote, and without debate. In the Senate, on the same day, the resolution was passed, with only one vote in the negative,—that of Charles H. Warren, a senator from the county of Suffolk.

This resolution received the approval of Governor Boutwell, who, in his annual message to the Legislature, delivered January 15, referred to it thus :

“You have, gentlemen, authorized the executive to invite Louis Kossuth to this commonwealth. This trust will be cheerfully and faithfully executed. Your action will be regarded as an expression of the sympathy of Massachusetts for the distinguished exile, and for the cause of European liberty, which he so truly represents. The common sentiment of America is on the side of constitutional governments. Nor will this sentiment be satisfied with an individual, unofficial expression. It will also demand, through the diplomatic agents of the country, a distinct declaration, on the part of Austria and Russia, as to their future purposes. If these governments shall assert the right of interference in the domestic affairs of European nations, or shall decline to make a distinct declaration upon this point, it would seem proper for our government to give them notice that we assert, on our part, an equal right to interfere in favor of republican or constitutional governments, reserving to ourselves, of course, the power to judge the circumstances and the necessity of interference, as events transpire.

“If, however, contrary to our expectations, Austria and Russia should assent to the doctrine of non-intervention, our object will have been gained. We cannot, in any view of the subject, quietly submit to the absorption of the smaller states of Europe by the larger, and the final subjection of all to two or three allied despotisms. Such a movement will not only be fatal to our commerce, but to the general industry and free principles of America.”

Governor Boutwell appointed Mr. Hopkins to be the bearer of the invitation of Massachusetts to Kossuth. The subjoined correspondence contains the official documents connected with the mission of Mr. Hopkins :

Council Chamber, Boston, Mass., }
January 15, 1852. }

SIR: I have the honor to introduce to you Mr. Erastus Hopkins, a representative in the Legislature of this State, who is authorized to present to you a resolution adopted by the government of Massachusetts.

Be pleased, sir, to receive my assurances of the high personal regard which my fellow-citizens entertain for you, and their devotion to the principles of liberty and national sovereignty, of which you are an honored representative and defender.

Mr. Hopkins will make known to you the universal desire of the Legislature to welcome you to the capital of Massachusetts.

I am, with high personal respect, your obedient servant,

GEORGE S. BOUTWELL.

To GOVERNOR KOSSUTH, of Hungary.

Pittsburg, Jan. 26, 1852.

EXCELLENCY: The Honorable Erastus Hopkins has delivered me your kind letter, and the resolution adopted by the government of Massachusetts, inviting me, in the name and in behalf of the people of the commonwealth, to visit Boston during the present session of the Legislature.

Be pleased, Excellency, to receive and to express to the Legislature my most hearty thanks for the honor the commonwealth of Massachusetts — which I have always admired for her steadfast adherence to the principles of civil and religious liberty, and for her successful endeavors to extend the benefits of education to all her citizens — has conferred upon me.

I have the firm intention to avail myself of this generous invitation before I leave the United States. Allow me, also, to express my high regards which I entertain for your Excellency, and my gratitude for the sentiments of justice and of enlightened statesmanship expounded by your Excellency's message, ever dear to the heart of my nation.

Those principles which you advocate, adopted by the different states of the Union, will give the weight to the United States in the councils of nations which is due to their power, and would free my country and the old continent.

I am, with high personal regard,

Excellency, your obedient servant,

L. KOSSUTH.

To His Excellency, GEO. S. BOUTWELL.

To His Excellency, GEO. S. BOUTWELL, Governor, &c.

SIR: I proceeded on the 17th ult. to present to Governor Kossuth a package, intrusted by your Excellency to my care, covering the resolve of the Legislature, inviting him to visit this capital; and covering, also, a communication from your Excellency, in pursuance of said resolve.

After an unusual detention, on account of the recent storms, I found Governor Kossuth at Pittsburg, on the 27th ult. A very unexpected and favorable opportunity was courteously granted by the citizens of Pittsburg, to present the invitation of Massachusetts in the presence of a large assembly convened to hear the chief address of the illustrious guest to the citizens of western Pennsylvania. I promptly accepted the courtesy thus tendered to the State of Massachusetts.

I enclose a copy of the remarks I made on the occasion, and also of the Governor's reply, as the same are contained in the *N. Y. Times* of the 20th ult.; hoping that all I have said and done will meet the approbation of your Excellency, and the people of the commonwealth.

The cordial greeting which I received, as a messenger from Massachusetts, from the citizens of that important section of our country, was a prominent and gratifying incident of my mission, which I cannot fail to notice, both as a testimony of respect to this commonwealth, and as a token of the strong fraternal bonds which unite the various parts of the Union.

I am, very respectfully, yours, &c.,

ERASTUS HOPKINS.

Boston, Feb. 3, 1852.

The "unexpected and favorable opportunity," to which Mr. Hopkins alludes in his letter to Governor Boutwell, was the occasion of the magnificent festival given to Kossuth, in Masonic Hall, Pittsburg, Pa., on the 26th of January, 1852. At the close of Kossuth's long and eloquent speech, the Hon. W. W. Irwin, of Pittsburg, rose, and, addressing the president of the meeting, said:

"Mr. President, I have the honor to inform you, and this large meeting, that there is now in this hall an ambassador from the land of the Pilgrim Fathers [cheers],—a messenger from the State of Massachusetts, charged with the pleasing duty of inviting Governor Louis Kossuth to visit that venerable and honored commonwealth. [Tremendous applause.] With your permission, Mr. Chairman, if it

be in order, I would desire that the citizens of Alleghany county should now have an opportunity of hearing the credentials of that ambassador, the Hon. Erastus Hopkins, read. [Applause.]”

Mr. Hopkins, rising amidst the cheers of the audience, said :

“ Mr. President, after the soul-stirring proceedings of this afternoon, I dare hardly venture to obtrude upon your attention. It was, indeed, very far from my expectation, when I came a pilgrim on a toilsome journey at this inclement season of the year, that I would be enabled to mingle the congratulations of the citizens of the ‘ Old Bay State ’ to Governor Kossuth with those of the people of Alleghany county. [Applause.] But, sir, my message, although not addressed to this meeting, is addressed to one whom we, in common with you, love, and whom we all delight to honor. [Tremendous applause.] ”

Turning to Kossuth, Mr. Hopkins then addressed him as follows :

“ GOVERNOR KOSSUTH : I am directed by his Excellency the Governor of Massachusetts to present to you the accompanying resolve of the Legislature, inviting you to visit their capital during the present session. The resolve is, *in fact*, no less than in its terms, ‘ *in the name and in behalf of the people of the commonwealth.* ’

“ Having with this announcement delivered to you the documents intrusted to my charge, I must be considered as having exhausted my official functions.

“ Yet, sir, having had the honor of introducing the resolve to the Legislature of Massachusetts [cheers], and witnessing with pleasure the unanimous and instant concurrence of her four hundred Representatives [renewed applause], I will venture to add a few words beyond the record,— only such words, however, as cannot fail to be consonant with the sentiments and hearts of her people. [Cheers.]

“ The people of Massachusetts would have you accept this act of her constituted authorities as no *unmeaning compliment*. Never, in her history as an independent state, with one single and illustrious exception, has Massachusetts tendered such a mark of respect to any other than the chief magistrates of these United States. And even in the present instance, much as she admires your patriotism, your eloquence, your untiring devotedness and zeal,— deeply as she is moved by your plaintive appeals and supplications in behalf of your native and oppressed land,— greatly as she is amazed at the irrepressible elasticity with which you rise from under the heel of oppression, with fortitude increased under sufferings, and with assurance growing stronger as the darkness grows deeper [cheers], still, it is not

one or all of these qualities combined that can lead her to swerve from her dignity as an independent state to the mere worship of man. [Applause.] No. But it is because she views you as the advocate and providential representative of certain great principles which constitute her own vitality as a state,—because she views you as the representative of human rights and freedom in another and far distant land,—it is because she views you as the rightful but exiled governor of a people whose past history and whose recent deeds show them to be worthy of some better future than that of Russian tyranny and Austrian oppression,—that she seeks to welcome you to her borders; that she seeks to attest to a gazing world that to the cause of freedom she is not insensible, and that to the oppression of tyrants she is not indifferent. [Great applause.]

“It is well, sir, that your feet have not yet pressed the soil of Massachusetts. It is well that you landed elsewhere; that you have surveyed the most prosperous portions of the Atlantic coast; that you have surmounted the formidable Alleghanies, and planted your feet in the confines of this great valley. It is well that you should comprehend its vast extent; that you should float down these mighty streams, and survey these mighty valleys; that, when your soul has become expanded by these scenes, and gratified by the free institutions which adorn and bless them, then, and not till then, should you turn your footsteps on a holy pilgrimage to the spot where American liberty had its birth. [Applause.] Its embryo slumbered in the souls of those illustrious and highly accomplished Puritan exiles, when, with religion for their handmaid, they set foot on the rock of Plymouth, and encountered the stern rigors of a New England winter. [Applause.] Their first-born child was popular Education. [Applause.] Their second was popular Freedom. [Great applause.] In what words can the history of any commonwealth be so gloriously emblazoned, as in those three words, and in the order in which I name them,—Religion, Education, Freedom? [Applause.] Here, sir, is a tri-color for the world. [Applause.]

“Such, preëminently such, is the record of Massachusetts. One word only need be added to bring her history to the present hour, and that is but a corollary of the former,—I mean, Prosperity. As the man of piety surveys her borders, numbers her people, counts their wealth, he finds a new fact added to the proof of ages,—‘Never have I seen the righteous forsaken, nor his seed begging bread.’

“I have said, sir, that Massachusetts is the birth-place of American liberty. When, then, you have seen the full stature with which

she fills these vast valleys and stretches herself over these mighty mountains, come to our little nursery, so retired from the turmoils and corruptions of the Old World, and we will show you the cradle where she was rocked to notes of eloquence which, while they soothed her fears, awakened a mighty continent to her nurture and defence. Come, sir, and we will show you the holy spot where the first baptismal blood of the Revolution was sprinkled upon her consecrated head, the camp-ground where Washington first unsheathed his sword in her defence [applause], and the fortifications which he first erected for her intrenchment. From the windows and balconies of the legislative halls whence this invitation to you has emanated these spots can be seen. [Applause.]

“Come, then, and stand amid these hallowed scenes; gaze upon them, listen to their silent eloquence, till it steals through every fibre, and breaks up every fountain of your soul. Drink with us of these first well-springs of American liberty, and you will find them still gushing and pure! [Applause.] Ah, sir, is it not fitting that your last pilgrimage on this continent should be to such a place,—that, as you embark for the Old World, your parting act should be to drink at the most hallowed fountains of the New? [Great applause.] Sir, Massachusetts will welcome you. She is the descendant of illustrious exiles, who, fleeing from oppression in the Old World, sought freedom in the New. Her past history, her filial piety, bids you welcome as an exile. [Applause.] Herself the first in legal resistance to illegal acts, in constitutional resistance to unconstitutional oppression, how can she do otherwise than welcome those who follow in her footsteps? [Cheers.] Prospered almost without a parallel as she has been under the smiles of a kind Providence, she can give but a poor account of her stewardship, unless her institutions of Religion, of Education, of Philanthropy, of Freedom, can afford most valuable information to all who seek to found new states, or, like yourself, to regenerate and revive those that are old. [Applause.]

“I speak of her institutions of freedom. I mean her distinct municipalities. There is no centralization there. Distributed into three hundred and twenty-two cities and townships, it is in these, by her literally democratic assemblages, that her government is chiefly carried on. No central government established and patronizes our four thousand public schools. No central government levies our taxes to fill her coffers and feed her parasites. Each town provides for itself, levies its own taxes, sustains its own schools, establishes its own municipal regulations, and in each and all of these acts is inde-

pendent of every other. The cause of Education and of Freedom is thus reposed in the hands and hearts of the people. Reposed, did I say? No, sir! it is because of those hearts and hands that Freedom and Education have no repose, but are pushed into the most active, vigorous and advancing life!

“The aggregate receipts and disbursements of our little democratic organizations are some four or five times larger than those of our state treasury. It is true, therefore, that we have no centralization. Through the system I have described, the people are the government, and the government is the people. The ‘seat of government’ is a fiction in Massachusetts, save as it signifies the hearts of the people.

“I have thus detailed somewhat of the history and of the present condition of the state that seeks to welcome you as her guest. Come, then, to her borders; witness the truth of all and of more than I have uttered, as you shall find it attested by our institutions, by the plentitude of our hospitality, and by the acclamations of one million souls! [Loud and long-continued applause.]”

To this address Governor Kossuth replied, in the following words:

“SIR: I consider it a providential indication, that the public opinion of the people is developing itself in the constitutional way which your happy institutions — uniting the independence of self-government with the power of union — have founded as a rock of your present greatness, happiness and freedom, and for your future glory. I feel happy that the Legislature of Massachusetts — of that commonwealth which can proudly point out those glorious reminiscences of past history — was among the first of the state legislatures to bid me welcome, after I had told openly the people of the United States who I was, and what was my wish. After this avowal, your welcome was more than hospitality. I have the assurance of it in the official act and pronouncement of principles of the chief magistrate of your commonwealth.

“Sir, I thank you for the benefit which you have bestowed upon my country’s cause, by moving these resolutions which I am now happy and proud to hold in my hands. I thank you for the travels you have undertaken in bringing over to me this solace; and I thank you for the manner in which you have been pleased to deliver it to me. [Applause.] By your words I have already foretasted the soul-inspiring, the heart-elevating flood of that glorious well which you pointed

out in your eloquent speech, and out of which, before I leave the United States of America, I will carry home that inspiration which is wanted to meet adversities and danger, and to hope success, such as that was which accompanied in such a glorious manner those struggles the cradle of which is your city-state. Sir, I will come to Massachusetts. I entreat your kindness to be pleased to charge yourself with a written answer to these resolutions, which I feel it is my duty, with gratitude and with reverence, to give."

Early in April, a telegraphic despatch from Mobile, Alabama, announced that Kossuth was on his way to Massachusetts, and expected to reach Boston in the course of a week or two. In compliance with a resolve of the Legislature, a legislative committee of reception was appointed on the 12th of April. It consisted of General Henry Wilson, President of the Senate, as chairman; of Senators Burlingame, Russell, Knowlton, Keyes, Griswold, Bassett and Hazewell, and of Messrs. Hopkins of Northampton, Davis of Worcester, Kellogg of Pittsfield, Kimball of Boston, Ward of Middleboro', Mansur of Fitchburg, Newell of Lawrence, Smith of Chelsea, Cowdry of Stoneham, Nettleton of Chicopee, Hendee of Roxbury, Humphrey of Weymouth, Barney of Nantucket, Morse of Lowell, and Stebbins of Deerfield, members of the House of Representatives.

A sub-committee, consisting of Hon. Anson Burlingame of Cambridge, General Eliab Ward of Middleboro', and Chas. S. Newell, Esq., of Lawrence, were sent to meet Kossuth at New York, where they arrived on Thursday, April 22. On Friday they were introduced to Kossuth, who had just arrived from Newark, N. J. Mr. Burlingame addressed him briefly and happily :

"GOVERNOR KOSSUTH: We have come to conduct you to Massachusetts in such manner as shall be most agreeable to yourself. Feeling that you must be weary with hearing speeches, we refrain from the expression of those emotions awakened by the story of your heroic life. We desire that our intercourse may be as informal as may comport with your dignity and pleasure."

Kossuth took Mr. Burlingame by the hand, and expressed himself highly gratified to place himself under the charge of a committee of the Legislature of Massachusetts. He had longed to visit New England, and was glad the occasion for doing so had arrived.

In company with the legislative sub-committee and a committee

from New Haven, Kossuth and his suite left New York by the eight o'clock morning train for New Haven. He was accompanied by Madame Kossuth, by M. and Madame Pulszky, Major Hajnik, Captains Greschenek and Kalapszka, and by Mr. W. S. Coggshall, a reporter for the New York Tribune, who has attended him during his whole tour in the United States. A special car was appropriated to the party. Though the time of his departure from New York was not generally known, he was greeted with cheers. At Stamford and Bridgeport, where the train stopped, Kossuth was warmly cheered by large crowds who had gathered about the stations.

The train reached New Haven about eleven o'clock. A large crowd was gathered at the railroad station, awaiting its arrival. Kossuth was received by Hon. Aaron N. Skinner, the mayor of the city, and by the committee of arrangements. He and his attendants entered carriages and were conveyed to the state-house, amid the ringing of bells, the firing of cannon, and the shouts of the people. An immense multitude of both sexes had assembled at the state-house, at the south porch of which Kossuth alighted, and was formally welcomed by the mayor, in the following speech :

MAYOR SKINNER'S ADDRESS.

“GOVERNOR KOSSUTH: In the name of the Common Council, here present, and in the name of the citizens represented here by their committee, and by this vast assembly, I welcome you and your distinguished compatriots to the city of New Haven, and to the soil of New England.

“On the very spot where we now stand, a little more than two centuries ago, was a savage wilderness; and just two hundred and fourteen years ago, the very week past, a vessel sailed into the harbor, with a company of brave and Christian men, who, as their very first act, on a peaceful Sabbath morning, of which the last Sabbath was the anniversary, met under the spreading branches of a large oak, a short distance from this spot, in the public worship of God. You behold before you here, as you will elsewhere in New England, the descendants of that race of men who preferred civil and religious liberty to all else which men commonly hold dear; who forsook home and country, the hearths, the altars and the graves of their fathers, for the great idea, as one of our poets expresses it, for ‘freedom to worship God.’

“Those men, nurtured in the school of liberty, and imbued with

the spirit of the oracles of God, knew no other foundation for human liberty than that laid in the common education of the people, and the pure and enlightening teachings of the Christian religion. They accordingly established schools and churches, as the first step towards a free and durable republic. One of our orators has said, 'The village church and the village school-house are the monuments which the American people have erected to their freedom.' If you cast your eyes on either side, you will see that the example of our fathers has not been altogether lost upon us their children. On your left hand you behold the temples of God; on your right, the institutions of learning. You will see the same everywhere in New England; the church and the school-house stand side by side, among the first and most interesting features of the natural and moral landscape. In these institutions our people have been trained, from the beginning, in a love of liberty, a respect for law, and in the reverence and the fear of God.

"It is precisely because we love liberty, because we respect law, because we reverence the Christian religion, that we are deeply interested in your father-land. We know that your own Hungary has been the great battle-field of nations; we know that Hungary has been the bulwark of Christendom against the Moslem and the Turk; we know that a brave and chivalric race has, for ages, defended your native soil. We have read the story of that young and heroic queen, who, surrounded by the armies of the three great powers of Europe, and overwhelmed by calamity and misfortune, fled, in the darkest days of her adversity, for protection, to the brave and gallant people of your native land. She asked for help from your nobles, and she received it. When 'the pale and pensive, but imperial queen,' stood before them, in deep mourning, the crown of her ancestors upon her brow, her right hand leaning on the hilt of the sword of the Austrian kings, and leading by her left hand her little daughter, and 'committed herself and her children to their protection,' the youth, the beauty, the calamities of the heroic queen, roused to the utmost intensity the chivalric devotion of these warlike magnates; and, grasping their swords, and waving them over their heads, they shouted, simultaneously, 'Moriatur pro rege nostro Maria Theresa.' They made good their words; they did fight and die for their queen,—drove back her enemies with glory, and restored her to her rights and to her throne.

"Such has ever been the spirit of Hungary, in all the ages of her history,—brave gallant and noble, in the defence of the right and the truth. Such has she conspicuously been in her late contest for

national existence and constitutional liberty. We watched with almost breathless interest the various fortunes in the tide and ebb of battle; we rejoiced in your success, we triumphed in your triumphs, and our hearts swelled with joy and hope when you drove back your vanquished oppressors from your soil. And, finally, what a pang of deep and bitter sorrow and despair smote our hearts, when we found that all your valor, your sacrifices, your heroic devotion to your country, had been in vain; and that brave, chivalric, noble Hungary, had fallen in disastrous but not inglorious battle!

“ We deeply sympathized with you and your illustrious compatriots in that glorious struggle. We honor your country as a country which deserves a better fate; we honor all those brave spirits who partook of that bloody and unequal contest; we honor those who poured out their patriotic blood on the field of battle; we honor those who, for the defence of liberty at home, now wander in exile in foreign lands. And we *especially honor him* who was the master-spirit in that fearful contest,— whose eloquence and patriotism inspired his countrymen to put aside all selfish considerations, to give up ancient privileges, and to grant to the *WHOLE* people the *equal* rights of freemen.

“ We bid you again welcome to our city and to our country; we freely offer you its privileges and its protection; and, if any of your number choose to remain with us, we with one accord offer you a home and a country, to share equally with ourselves in all its privileges and blessings. But, if you ever return to your native land, we hope it may be to a land of liberty and peace. And we devoutly pray that the great and just God, who holds the destinies of nations in his hand, may yet make your country a free country, as happy, as enlightened, and great, as it has been brave and heroic.

“ Fellow-citizens, I now introduce to you the illustrious Kossuth.”

KOSSUTH'S SPEECH AT NEW HAVEN.

Kossuth replied in an extemporaneous speech, of which the reporters could not hear the opening, owing to the distance from them at which he stood. It was, in substance, that he was embarrassed because he was greatly fatigued, and it was difficult for him to speak in the open air. The following is an imperfect report of the remainder of his remarks:

* * * * * “ I was very anxious to see New England. I was very anxious to behold the men who have been reared under her institutions,—institutions of freedom and religion, upon which the highest happiness of all nations must be founded. I wished to visit

your state, for I knew it had always been conspicuous for having furnished an asylum for all that were oppressed when Europe was not free. I knew that New England had always furnished protection and an asylum for those who have been persecuted by the enemies of freedom in Old England. * * * *

“Public instruction here yields its everlasting fruit. You are instructed in the principles of the divine revelation, and therefore you are a free people; you are an intelligent people; you are a Christian, a religious people; a people able in the best manner to govern yourselves. From such men I am not surprised to meet with sympathy in New Haven.

“Gentlemen, I am soon about to leave the United States. The first impressions of which I partook when I came to New Haven’s shores will go with me across the water. Freemen are generous in their affections, and always hopeful. They have a place in their hearts for the misfortunes of others. It was not without anxiety that I have met them, lest sympathy for an exile should withdraw their minds from the subject to which he is alone desirous their attention should be called. It is not honors and glory which I hope for myself, but a desire to benefit the millions of my down-trodden countrymen, which brought me to your shores. The expectant millions of Europe intrusted to me the duty of laying my hand on the great heart of the people of the United States; and I wish to carry back the tidings that there is not only a feeling of sympathy for the oppressed, but also a bold and generous spirit, upon which we can rely, so far as your own institutions and circumstances will permit, if we raise the banner of Liberty, — the banner of civil and religious freedom. [Cheers.]

“Now, gentlemen, being about to leave the United States, the millions which encouraged me by their expressions will soon ask me for your answer, and my last impressions will be the answer which I shall give them. Now, I have seen a considerable portion of your country’s territory, and have met a people everywhere great, generous and good. No part of the United States will feel offended when I say that I am glad that from New England I shall receive my last impression of my visit to the United States; and the answer which I shall carry back will express the sympathy of the people of New England impressed as God’s perfections on my heart. [Cheers.]

“The chief magistrate of your city, who has been so kind as to address me in the name of the citizens of New Haven, has been pleased to assure me that you have felt deep sorrow in hearing the tidings of

poor Hungary's misfortunes. Let me say, gentlemen, that I believe there was indeed full occasion for that sorrow. Despotism found in Hungary a victim, and violated those principles upon which your own freedom and happiness rest, and upon which your forefathers built. I know that there is one God in heaven, the father of all humanity, and heaven is therefore one. I know that there is one sun in the sky, which gives light to all the world. As there is unity in God, and unity in the light, so is there unity in the principles of freedom. Wherever it is broken, wherever a shadow is cast upon the sunny rays of the sun of liberty, there is always danger for free principles everywhere in the world. [Great applause.]

“The chief magistrate of your city has been pleased to bestow a word of approbation upon that portion of the people of Hungary who, to make their country free, jeopardized their own freedom. They consented to make the people partake an equal share in their liberty. Why did they do this, gentlemen? They did it because they had occasion to see and know that liberty was nothing, unless it was possessed by many, by all. They had learned that this only could give security, and confer greatness. Each country is interested in the freedom of other nations. Hungary is crushed; upon the ruins of Hungary the principle of oppression, of civil and religious oppression, goes on. From Hungary it spreads over Europe. After having crushed liberty in all the European nations, after having succeeded in consolidating this power, there is danger that it will go on until it reaches even to you. The Czar of Russia, in violence to the eternal law of nature and nature's God, interfered in our struggle, and declared in his proclamations his intention not only to crush my people, but the spirit of liberty throughout the world, because he considered it inconsistent with his rights, which he was not ashamed to call divine. Hungary was crushed because our example was considered dangerous to despotism. I ask you if they, even in their boldest imaginations, can possibly conceive of an example more dangerous than that of the United States, with its freedom, prosperity and power.

“I believe it is a most dangerous example to absolutism. So long as it exists, there is no security for despots, none for tyranny in the earth. Therefore, I say, if my countrymen were right in their struggles with Austria, if it was a struggle for civil, religious and political liberty, the United States were interested in the result. If we do not succeed in stopping the progress of despotism in Europe, you see the danger is brought home to you. I do not disclaim that I would have

the people of the United States not fear to meet the danger. To meet it may require great sacrifices and great suffering. It is always more prudent to prevent danger than to meet it. It is more wise to prevent that our house should be fired, than to wait and attempt to quench the fire. Upon this have I rested the expectations upon which I came. I assure you I go back to Europe only for the purpose of meeting the danger that threatens the freedom of the world. Hungary, by the peculiar operations of Divine Providence, may now be the turning point of the world's liberty, as it was formerly a barrier and stronghold against Islamism.

“If Hungary is not protected, how is the world to be redeemed? If Hungary does not succeed in maintaining its independence and freedom, soon there will be no freedom left throughout all Europe. Freedom and independence have there been driven back by absolutism, and crushed for the time, while struggling for the ascendancy under the high instruction which your glorious example imparts to Europe. If the triumph of republicanism shall finally be secured, I hope in God that Europe will not imitate those who have established a dangerous centralism, but follow your own example, which is more congenial to the freedom and happiness of mankind. This being my conviction, I thank God that I have been so happy as to have seen you and the workings of your free institutions; the inspirations of my heart are still stronger, and the resolutions of my mind still more bent upon restoring my own dear country to its natural rights of freedom and independence. When I have seen what a people may become by possessing liberty, it is impossible not to long for it. I give you my word, in the name of my people, that we consider no sacrifices too great for establishing freedom and independence, when we see what glorious fruits these yield in the United States. [Enthusiastic cheers.]

“When I go from the United States, it is not the poor exile whom I would have you to remember. He is not worthy of any attention at all; he even declares to you that he does not wish to receive any personal attentions; for I feel, when I meet with your personal kindness, that my own country may be forgotten, and it is towards her that I would direct your generous sympathies, and all the ideas of your minds. I believe the time draws near when my country will need them all.

“The United States are making wonderful progress. Your republic will, it is estimated, soon contain one hundred millions of people. When such a republic exists, there will be no place for oppression on the earth.

For such a nation will look to foreign policies ; such a nation will be connected by a thousand ties with the struggles which are about to be made by those who will fight with all the resolution of men loving freedom, and trusting that God will give success to their efforts, though suffering them now to experience trials, for their ultimate good.

“ When we take the banner of freedom once more in Europe, when the turning point in the fate of Europe arrives, we shall look for active support from the United States,—for such support as we have a right to claim. We hope the United States may be pleased to recognize those principles which are the common property of all humanity, and, by being common property, are your own,—the principle that every nation has a right to stand by itself, frame and establish its own institutions and government, and that no foreign power has a right to interfere. That is the principle for which we contend, and on which we claim the people of the United States should insist.

“ We are approaching a great crisis, and stout hearts will fight our battles. We claim a great influence from your country, an influence which no other power on earth can exert. You should exert it on a scale corresponding with the extent, resources, power and influence, of your great country. [Cheers.]

“ I believe I shall not be able to speak to you longer, and that you must be satisfied with these few remarks. It requires so much exertion to speak in the open air, and the citizens of New Jersey and New York yesterday made such demands on me, that I did the work of five or six days in one single day, and I am therefore tired out. But I know for and to whom I speak. I know that your generous hearts will remain true and faithful, and warmly attached to these principles which make your glory and happiness, and for which we have been struggling, and for which we will once more struggle ; and we look with confidence for the generous sympathy of the most free and powerful people on earth. God bless you forever, and God bless the people of the United States ! [Great applause.]

“ I have been told that the city of New Haven is one of the brightest and most beautiful spots in the United States. Indeed, I find it to be so, and there is a beauty and a joy in being here to-day. There have been stormy days recently ; but here we are met upon a fair day, physically as well as morally. It is the second spring I have enjoyed in the United States. I know that spring is the mother of and necessary for fruits. Let me hope that your hearts will always be warmed by spring weather for those who struggle for liberty ; because then I know

that summer will come, when out of this spring the generous fruits of humanity and liberty will arise. Such is my hope and my confidence. [Loud and long-continued cheering.]”

At the conclusion of his speech, Kossuth was introduced to a number of ladies and gentlemen, and then visited Yale College, where he spent a few minutes in the Trumbull Gallery, which was shown to him by Professor Silliman. Accompanied by the mayor and corporation, he and his suite next proceeded in a train of carriages to Whitneyville, two miles distant from the city, where there is a manufactory of rifles for the United States government, owned by Mr. Eli Whitney, son of the inventor of the cotton-gin. On arriving there, Kossuth was conducted through the establishment by Mr. Whitney, and introduced to his wife and other ladies. On a narrow wooden bridge between the two wings of the factory, and connecting them together, twenty stand of rifles were piled, surmounted by a banner bearing the inscription, “Material Aid for Hungary.” These rifles are of beautiful workmanship, of cast-steel barrels, and worth fifteen dollars each. Over this bridge the workmen all passed, one by one, and by Mr. Whitney were introduced by name to Kossuth. Mr. Whitney then addressed Kossuth, and said :

“GOVERNOR KOSSUTH: I address you in behalf of these friends, who coöperate with me in the manufacture of arms. They admire your virtues and patriotism, and, sympathizing in your noble cause, present to you these rifles. We feel assured, sir, that the present acquired reputation of this rifle will not suffer in the hands of your brave countrymen, when they shall use them in defence of their fire-sides and laws. We trust, sir, that the termination of the approaching struggle for liberty in Europe will find your country a constitutional republic, your people united and free.”

Kossuth said, in reply :

“I most truly thank you for this valuable gift to the cause of Hungary. Be pleased to express to these men my most cordial thanks. I can give utterance to no higher approbation than when I say that with these rifles I will arm the twenty men who will be by my side in battle when the danger is greatest; and I hope your arms will lose nothing in their hands. There is a historical recollection about the name of Whitney, connected with the development of one of the chief elements

of human happiness and prosperity on this continent. It is curious that, while on one side the name of Whitney is associated with the cotton-gin, the name of the second Whitney is connected with the instruments to defend this source of wealth and material prosperity, and the still greater blessing of liberty. Accept my thanks, then, and tell those gentlemen who are *collaborateurs* with you, that, in placing these arms in the hands of those nearest to me in the struggle for Hungary, it will furnish them with an additional motive for valor, that they may not prove unworthy of such arms, made and bestowed by free and generous men. Accept my thanks, and God bless you!"

The workmen then cheered loudly, and Kossuth and suite and party returned to the New Haven Hotel, where he partook of a private collation. Before leaving the hotel, he was waited upon by a deputation from a German society, and presented with a purse containing twenty-five dollars. The chairman of the deputation, Mr. Leopold Waterman, in presenting the purse, addressed Kossuth in German, of which this is a translation :

“GOVERNOR KOSSUTH: The German Lodge No. 14, O. S. D. F., whose aim it is to inspire the heart of each of its members with the sense and the principles of true freedom, has taken the most lively interest in the last struggle of your father-land for independence.

“Your victories have gladdened, your defeats have grieved, our souls; and with deep and painful sorrow we have seen how all efforts and sacrifices of your heroic people could not obtain the desired liberty.

“You, Governor Kossuth, are the star which illuminates and cheers the night of oppressed humanity; and, as long as we yet find such men on the side of right and justice, remains our faith in the wisdom of an eternal Providence unshaken, and our hope for a final victory unchangeable.

“Begging of you kindly to accept our small donation, and to dispose of it to the best of your own judgment, we pray the Almighty Ruler of destiny to grant you a long and happy life, as a blessing for all mankind.”

KOSSUTH'S REPLY.

“GENTLEMEN: I thank you most cordially for your sympathy and your aid to a just cause. You are right not to despair; and, as long as there is a kind Providence, so long there is hope for the oppressed

nations. It was perhaps for the best that the last revolution was not successful, as a victory thus early obtained might not have the desired favorable results. I wish you would take occasion to read the report of my remarks before the German society at New York, in which I expressed my opinion with regard to the affairs of Europe.

“Many good and brave men fell in the late struggle; and I regret that still more blood must be shed, before liberty in Europe will triumph. As for my part, please tell your brethren that, as long as the Almighty spares my life, I shall not cease to work also for the freedom of your old father-land, for the liberty of Hungary is intimately connected with the liberty of Germany, and of all Europe.

“Farewell! Gentlemen, I again thank you most heartily.”

Just before leaving New Haven, Mr. Charles Ruckholdt, in behalf of the German Democratic Association, presented Kossuth with thirty dollars, accompanying it with a few remarks, to which Kossuth made an appropriate reply, thanking them for this token of regard.

The gentlemen who had charge of the Kossuth fund also gave him one hundred and thirty-six dollars, the proceeds of several lectures which had been delivered in New Haven for the benefit of the Hungarian cause.

Kossuth left New Haven at three P. M., on his way to Springfield, Mass. His progress through Connecticut was one continual triumph. At every railroad station the people were gathered in multitudes to cheer him, as he passed along. At Meriden he addressed them briefly, and was presented with a small sum of money. At Hartford there was a very large and enthusiastic assemblage, to whom Kossuth made a short speech, which was answered by many cheers.

A strange and interesting adventure befell Kossuth at Hartford. To make it intelligible, it will be necessary first to relate an event which occurred two or three years ago.

When Kossuth and companions in exile were at Widdin, Bulgaria, in September, 1849, a Turkish officer of rank was sent to them by the Grand Vizier, from Constantinople, to inform them that a majority of the Divan had decided to surrender the refugees, and that the only means for them to preserve their lives was to renounce Christianity and embrace Moslemism. Kossuth's heroic answer is well known; but, feeling that it was the duty of the patriot to make every honorable effort to preserve his life, he determined to write to Lord Palmerston a

letter, explaining to him the dangers by which himself and associates were surrounded.

Capt. Henningsen, of the English army, who had left England to aid in the Hungarian struggle, had joined Kossuth at Widdin. With him Kossuth consulted as to the manner of sending the important letter to Palmerston. He said he was too poor to hire a courier, and the letter must reach England in ten days.

In Kossuth's room, during this consultation, an Englishman had been sitting, who had come to Widdin to see the Hungarian refugees. He was grave-looking and silent. He sat for hours with his umbrella under his arm, biting his finger-nails, without speaking, and seldom paying any attention whatever to what was passing around him.

When Kossuth asked Henningsen how he should despatch the letter to Palmerston, after a moment's reflection, Henningsen said, "This man will take it," pointing to his silent countryman.

"No," answered Kossuth, "I have no claims on him."

"But I have, as an Englishman," returned Henningsen; and, stepping up to his countryman, he tapped him on the shoulder. The traveller looked up deliberately, and said,

"Well, sir?"

Henningsen informed him of Kossuth's wish to send an important letter to England; and when he understood the nature of its contents, he inquired, abruptly,

"Where is the letter?"

Henningsen handed it to him. He rose from his seat, said laconically "Good-by, sir," and was gone.

The first day's journey of the Englishman from Widdin brought him back to the very spot from whence he started! He then saw that he was suspected, and that there was treachery in the drivers. He at once demanded, in the name of the English government, and as an English officer, proper protection and uninterrupted passage. He then started again; and, after various romantic incidents, was enabled to deliver the letter in person to Palmerston within the specified time of ten days from the hour that he received it. Palmerston's reply was that the Sultan should be supported by the entire British fleet, if necessary, in case he gave unconditional protection to Kossuth and his compatriots, — a declaration which undoubtedly had great weight in inducing the Sultan to persist in his refusal to deliver up the fugitives.

The name of this prompt and generous Englishman was Roger Casement. He was formerly an officer in the British army, and for

several years was stationed in the East Indies. But the monotony of the regular service did not suit his active temperament, and he resigned his commission and returned to London. The Hungarian revolution was then at its height, and the sympathy of Mr. Casement enlisted in behalf of those struggling for liberty. He repaired to join the Hungarian army as a volunteer.

At this time a large public meeting was held in London, at which Lord Dudley Stuart presided. An address of sympathy with Kossuth and his army was voted, and promises were made of valuable aid.

Mr. Casement volunteered to deliver to Kossuth in person a copy of the address and the assurance of aid, which were tendered by the meeting and from other quarters. After many thrilling incidents and narrow escapes, he succeeded in getting into Hungary, but not until treachery had done its work, and the army of Hungary was broken up and its heroic leader was in exile. Mr. Casement followed Kossuth to the frontier; and at Widdin, in Bulgaria, he presented the address to the Hungarian governor. Kossuth and his companions were much cheered by these expressions of sympathy from London, though unfortunately it was too late for the promised aid. It was thus that Mr. Casement happened to be at Widdin at a juncture so important for Kossuth.

Kossuth neither saw nor heard anything further of Mr. Casement, until he reached Hartford, on his way to Springfield. But, just as he was leaving that city, after addressing the people at the railroad station, a man stepped up to the window of the car in which he sat, and handed him a book. In the hurry and confusion of departure, Kossuth was unable to take much notice of either the book or its giver. But when the train was in motion he examined the book, which proved to be a copy of Brace's *Hungary in 1851*. It contained the following brief note:

“This is from the person who carried your letter from Widdin to Palmerston in ten days. CASEMENT.’’”

Kossuth was much affected at finding this note, and expressed deep regret that he had not at least shaken the man's hand and thanked him. He said he was highly indebted to him, and hoped to meet him again, that he might personally express his gratitude.

KOSSUTH IN SPRINGFIELD.

KOSSUTH'S reception at Springfield was a very cordial one. Soon after his arrival in America, the selectmen of the town sent him the following letter of welcome and invitation :

{ *Town Officers' Office, Town Hall,*
 { *Springfield, Mass., Dec. 10, 1851.*

TO LOUIS KOSSUTH, Governor of Hungary.

SIR: The inhabitants of Springfield unite with their countrymen universally in welcoming you to America. They recognize in you an apostle, and, in some, a highly honorable sense, a martyr of liberty. They desire through you to evince their sympathy in the great cause of civil and religious freedom, throughout the world.

In their behalf, and acting officially for them, we invite you to visit Springfield, and to partake of hospitalities which will be extended to you with most free and enthusiastic hearts.

We have witnessed with deep emotions the recent struggles for liberty in Europe, and especially the matchless energy with which Hungary, by her glorious efforts, has attracted to herself the gaze and admiration of the world. We watched the progress of yourself and your noble band of co-patriots, in successive and successful battles for freedom, with an animated hope that Hungary was in very deed about to place herself, an independent republic, amongst the nations of Europe; and we deplored, as we still deplore, the interference of that power which crushed her efforts, and quenched, for a time, the lights of liberty, of honor, and of right.

The past we regard as but the first scene of the drama. It cannot be that the people of Europe will not continue to claim, as rightfully theirs, freedom and free institutions. The progress of intelligence, of the means of education, and of religion, renders it certain that the result is not far distant, and that all bondage is destined soon to cease.

We rejoice in this hope, this belief, this blessed assurance. And hence we desire personally to sympathize with all who are animated with the same impulses.

We desire to see amongst us one who has shared so largely as yourself in the opening scenes of the glorious future. We desire to behold in you the symbol of European liberty.

Come, then, amongst us, and see what liberty has here accomplished, that you may yet more earnestly impress the lesson, what well-regulated liberty may and will accomplish everywhere.

Accept this invitation, and receive the greetings of a people who will rejoice to welcome you, and to bid you and your noble Hungarians God speed in the march of liberty.

With the highest respect, your obedient servants,

WILLIAM B. CALHOUN, } *Selectmen*
 ELIPHALET TRASK, } *of*
 THEODORE STEBBINS, } *Springfield.*

To this letter Kossuth returned the following reply :

Newark, N. J., April 21, 1852.

WILLIAM B. CALHOUN, Esq., ELIPHALET TRASK, Esq., THEODORE STEBBINS, Esq.

GENTLEMEN: It was immediately after my arrival in the United States that I was honored by an invitation of the citizens of Springfield to your hospitable city. I was very sorry that, at the time, I was unable to accept the invitation; but now, on my way to the capital of Massachusetts, I will be happy to return my heartfelt thanks to the inhabitants of the city which was the first to urge upon the government to invite me to the hospitable shores of America. You were among the first bidding me the welcome which has lately been extended to me by your Legislature; it is therefore doubly agreeable to me that the arrangements of the Massachusetts committee, on whose hands I am, allow me to remain for a short time amongst the people of Springfield.

I start Friday, at eight o'clock, from New York, and arrive in the evening at Springfield, where I remain till Saturday noon.

With sincere respect, gentlemen,

Your obedient servant,

L. KOSSUTH.

The announcement that he was to arrive in the afternoon train from New Haven began, an hour before the arrival of the train, to attract a crowd of men and women, which gradually swelled, until one side of the immense new depot was literally crammed with eager expectants. Outside the depot, the crowd extended to the Massasoit House on all sides, and the house itself was full. All the windows and balconies of the buildings around were filled with ladies. Never did

Springfield witness so large a crowd, or so excited a one, on any similar occasion. There could not have been less than five thousand persons on the ground.

At a quarter before six the train arrived. When Kossuth made his appearance, such a shout arose as such a crowd could only make. Cheer followed cheer, as a posse of constables cleared the way for him among the crowd. The progress was slow, and the path was fairly fought to the door of the Massasoit, and even through the halls into the parlor. Once inside, the crowd he there met started the cheers again; and, politely bowing to either side, he won his way to a private room.

By this time the crowd outside began to grow wild with excitement, and, as it was understood that he would show himself, and make a brief address, from the north-eastern balcony of the Massasoit House, the multitude shifted ground into Main-street, and, with upturned faces and boisterous voices, called upon the Magyar to come forth. In the mean time, the crowd was swelling, and every available place becoming occupied. At last, Kossuth made his way to the balcony, and, on showing himself, was received with tumultuous and persistent cheers, that would not relent until he had proceeded several sentences in a brief and pleasant speech.

It was a well-worded, hearty greeting to the multitude that had gathered to meet him, and was received with much applause. He made a happy allusion to the National Armory at Springfield, spoke of the encouragement which the sympathy of the people gave him, and said that, although the atmosphere was harsh and cold, the hearts before him were warm. He added, with a *naïvetè* that brought out hearty cheers, that he had recently been in a part of the country where the atmosphere was warm, but where the hearts were not quite so warm. He concluded with the invocation of a blessing upon the assembly, and retired.

On retiring to his room, several individuals were introduced, and among them a venerable Revolutionary soldier, Mr. Edwards.

It was widely understood that Kossuth would deliver an address to the citizens in the North Church, at eight o'clock in the evening. In fact, a notice was posted to that effect in the streets. His fatigue was such, however, that he felt unable to perform the task, and the arrangements were overruled. In the evening, the selectmen had a meeting, and a conference with the committee of Dr. Osgood's church, when it was determined that the formal reception of Kossuth, in

behalf of the city, should take place at that church, at nine o'clock, on Saturday morning, April 24.

During the evening, Kossuth received several visitors from this and adjoining towns. Among them were George Merriam, of Springfield, and his family, from three of whom he received a check for fifty dollars each, as a contribution to the fund of "material aid."

On handing the Massasoit House Register to Kossuth, for his autograph, he wrote "L. Kossuth and Lady," and then, for a moment considering what place he should write as his residence, said, "I have no home," and accordingly wrote "Nowhere." The members of his suite then wrote their names, as follows: P. Hajnik, Homeless; Captain George Grechenek, do.; Captain Kalapsza, do.; Therese Pulszky, do.; Francis Pulszky, do.; and Stewart W. T. Coggshall.

An hour before nine o'clock, on Saturday morning, the tide of human feeling and human footsteps began to set in the direction of the church, in anticipation of the reception which was there to be given to Kossuth, in behalf of the citizens of Springfield. For a half-hour or more the crowd was kept at bay, ladies only being admitted; but, at last, the force stationed at the door was overcome by the pressure, and the edifice was carried by storm. Every seat and standing-place in the church was occupied, and for full three-quarters of an hour the multitude waited for the advent of the subject of their interest. The delay was caused by the fact that Kossuth had not been informed that he was to speak at so early an hour, and when he was called for he was unprepared.

He entered the church at a quarter before ten, accompanied by the selectmen and members of the state committee, and was received with such demonstration of applause as became the house that received him. On reaching the table, in front of the desk, Hon. William B. Calhoun welcomed him to the city, with a brief, cordial and eloquent speech:

MR. CALHOUN'S SPEECH.

"GOVERNOR KOSSUTH: You will not doubt, from the scene which you witnessed yesterday on your arrival, and from the one which you witness this morning, that the hearts of our citizens are with you. As their organ, I bid you welcome to this valley of the Connecticut.

"We greet you, sir: we recognize in you *a man*, entering with an earnest and animated spirit into all those great purposes by which sympathy with humanity is exhibited. We recognize in you *a dis-*

tinguished man; for history is already recording the brilliant deeds wrought by you, and connected with your name in Europe. We recognize in you, more than all, a *representative of the great principle of liberty*. This endears you peculiarly to us. We have long been in the enjoyment of this priceless blessing. And we greet with gladness of heart one who is seeking for himself, and to impart to others, the same rich blessing.

“You are now, sir, for the first time in your life, on the soil of New England,—the soil of Massachusetts,—Old Massachusetts, a soil from the beginning consecrated to freedom, and from which freedom can never be eradicated. We have no desire to be the monopolists of this vast boon. And we rejoice to have you among us, that you may see with your own eyes what liberty has done for us. We wish you to see the operation of it here, and in the various other municipalities through which you will have occasion to pass. We wish you to see it in our various religious, educational, civil, philanthropic, and social institutions. Everywhere around us we wish you to behold it. Our institutions all stand upon the basis of freedom; and our wonder is, how the institutions of any people can stand on any other basis. We have a perfect faith that the time is approaching when they will stand on no other basis.

“But, sir, it is no part of my province to speculate or to offer an opinion concerning the existing condition or prospects of liberty in the Old World. I will not stand between the sound of your voice and the expectant ears of the throng before me. We all wish to hear, from your own lips, something of the state of Europe, and of the cause to which you are devoted. We have come up here to render a respectful homage to that cause, and to you, its advocate. Again I bid you welcome, now and at all times, to our homes and our hearts.”

The hearty cheers which followed this welcome showed that the speaker had touched a sympathetic chord. As Kossuth essayed to reply, loud cries arose from all parts of the house,—“To the pulpit!” “the pulpit!” “the pulpit!” Kossuth bowed, with a pleasant smile, and ascended the steps. After alluding to the embarrassment which he felt on finding himself in a place consecrated to religion, he proceeded to speak, in substance, as follows:

KOSSUTH'S SPEECH IN SPRINGFIELD.

“GENTLEMEN: Here I am, at last, in Massachusetts,—that old commonwealth, bright with the glory of former days, as well as with

present prosperity, — and let me add, bright with the glory of refuting the sad, but oft-times true, reproach of humanity, that prosperity hardens the heart of men, and makes them less susceptible to foreign distress.

“ I thank you for your noble and spontaneous sympathy. There is a character of true Christian brotherly love in this your sympathy, and there is also political importance in it. Honor to all to whom honor is due, and happy the land where many can claim the right of competition to be among the first in patriotism. But no portion of this great republic can feel offended when, taking the platform of impartial history, I ask where is the man entitled to bear a prouder brow than the Massachusetts man, when the freedom and glory of the United States are spoken of? And therefore, I say, there is a political importance in the bright ray of sympathy you cast upon me. Massachusetts must have its weight in the policy of the United States; and it is the public spirit of the citizens of Massachusetts, and not any accidental favors of nature’s whims, which makes Massachusetts what it is.

“ But, as Divine Providence may call me yet to benefit my down-trodden country, not only with my sword, but also with the gleanings of my experience, I thank you particularly for the joyful instruction, which New England is about to impart to me, that national prosperity does not harden a nation’s heart, if that prosperity be founded upon institutions and intellect connected with morality. To know a people’s character, we must see it at its homes, and look chiefly to the humbler abodes, where that portion of the people dwells which makes the broad basis of the national prosperity. One of my companions stopped here in New England, in the house of a working-man, who labors here at the wages of two dollars a day; and he found in the modest, but neat and comfortable house, besides the Bible and newspapers, a translation of some Roman classics, Bentham’s writings, and a History of the United States.

“ Now, gentlemen, where the working-men draw spiritual life from divine revelation by private judgment, and converse daily with Roman classics, those ever-fresh sources of generous sentiments, and are familiar with Bentham’s analysis of deep philosophical utilitarianism, and draw daily inspiration of patriotism out of their country’s history, there I easily can understand how the heart of men remains generous in common national prosperity, and wraps itself not up in the selfishness of undeserved happiness.

“With you, citizens of Massachusetts, the love of liberty is more than affection,—it is a principle rooted in the very soil with the recollections of a glorious history, but with recollections not lulling in idle reliance upon the past, but warming your heart with the aspirations of proving it to be true, that it is no smaller virtue to develop and to conserve than to get, and not less meritorious to secure freedom by proving worthy of being free, than to acquire freedom.

“Let me hail you with cordial congratulation, brave and intelligent people of Massachusetts, on the very frontier of your prosperous and memorable commonwealth. Let me praise my good luck that the sympathy of the New England States will be the final impression upon my heart, which I take with me when I leave America, to act the part which Divine Providence calls me to act. That impression will strengthen my noble resolution in oppressed Europe, because you, citizens of New England, give me one mighty security more than the people of the United States will not blindly rely upon authorities, but judge by its own enlightened intellect, and then, letting pass the thoughts of its conviction through the warm tide of its heart, will assert with the energy of love what it considerably conceives.

“It was a beautiful word of a distinguished son of Massachusetts [Mr. Webster], which I like to repeat, that every nation has precisely the same interest in international law that a private individual has in the laws of his country; and your enlightened intellect is aware that if the United States remain silently looking on when the despotic powers arbitrarily alter, modify and interpolate, those international laws, then the United States have ceased to hold the position of a power on earth; because, the common law of all the great family of nations being thus decided without your vote, you are either not taken to be a lawfully independent nation, or you are considered so weak and powerless as not to dare yet to claim the position of being of lawful age.

“And, indeed, there are many incidents out of which it is very evident that either you acknowledge yourself not to be entitled to the position of a power on earth daring to assert its principles anywhere, or that the absolutistical powers are only too much inclined not to consider you a power on earth. Look at the instructions of your navy, in the Mediterranean Sea, recently published, forbidding American officers even to speak, in conversation, of politics in Europe. Look at the correspondences of your commanders and consuls, frightened to their very soul that an exile on board an American ship is cheered

by the people of Italy and France, and charging him, for the immense crime of having met sympathy, that he is possessed of a devil, and compromises the flag of America. Look at the often-expressed astonishment of European writers and European statesmen, even of such as Lord Brougham, that Americans, when in Europe, seldom dare be republicans. Look how French Napoleonic papers frown indignantly at the idea that the Congress of the United States dared to honor my humble self, declaring these honors to be not only offensive to Austria, but to all the European powers. Look how they dared sneeringly declare it to be a presumptuous arrogance,—nay, almost an insult,—that an American minister, true to his own and to his country's fundamental principles, dared to pronounce his judgment about the pernicious policy which some European powers pursue. Look how even such a small power as Greece, so highly indebted to the people of America, but depending upon Russia, and turning obedient, moon-like, around the Czar,—look how even Greece treats your consul, as no consul was yet treated the government of whom is considered a power on earth.

“ I know very well that there are men who, about the weightless position of America in Europe, feign to be consoled by the idea that there is a European and there is also an American field of policy; and if America has no weight in Europe, Europe has no weight in America. But that is entirely false. Has Russia no territory on the American continent? Are the Canadas not British? Has France — has Spain — no possessions; and are they all not only claiming, but also exerting power and influence beyond their possessions in America? And, besides, the truth is not to be mistaken, that, connected, as you are, by a thousand moral, social and commercial ties, with Europe, it is just as absurd to believe that it may be defined by degrees of latitude and longitude where European policy terminates and American begins, as it would be to define geographically the limits of your commercial and social interests.

“ I take it for an axiom, that there exist interests common to every nation, comprised within the boundaries of the same civilization. I take it equally for certain, that among these common interests none is of higher importance than the principles of international law.

“ I say that, if the absolutistical powers are permitted to dispense with that law arbitrarily, they encroach upon your own most vital interests.

“ And, to look indifferently at these encroachments is so much as a

spontaneous abdication of the position of a power on earth. And that position abandoned, is independence abandoned.

“ The principle of neutrality does not involve the principle of indifference to the violation of the laws of nations, which are a common property to all nations. Indifference to these violations is rather contrary to the principle of neutrality; as, indeed, it is a fallacy to believe that you are neutral. If we once more raise the republican banner of resistance against the oppression by the Austrian dynasty, that perjurious dynasty may arm vessels in your country, and embark volunteers upon them. Perhaps even they may find some foreign diplomatic influence has grown too strong in republican America; for Russian ‘divine right’ has not only advocates, but votaries, in republican America. They may find men who would fight for them by profession, having found men who are lying for them by profession, which, in any case, is less honorable, even in the service of despotism, than to fight. Yes, the Emperor of Austria, as of Russia, or even the inglorious usurper of France, may arm here vessels, enlist volunteers, and carry on commerce in arms and ammunition, to murder nations with, and they will be protected by all the maritime power of the United States; but, if I would arm here vessels and enlist volunteers for the deliverance of my people from oppression, your laws would send me to prison for ten years; and if I buy your arms in Springfield, and buy ammunition, your fleet in the Mediterranean will not protect this my commerce. Is that neutrality? No! Indifference for the principles of international law has led you logically into the necessity of granting protection to the oppressors, and refusing even the right of commercial intercourse to the oppressed. And, were it not so, neutrality, as a constant rule, is impossible to a great power. Neutrality, as a lasting principle, is an evidence of weakness, and is rather dictated by the rivalry of other powers,—as in Belgium and Switzerland,—than by own choice; and neutrality, as a permanent principle, is as much as the abandonment of the position to be a power on earth. Neutrality, to a great power, is always a matter of policy resulting from the nature of a particular cause; but to take neutrality for a lasting principle is as much as to declare that we claim not the position of an independent power on earth; because, to permit other powers to regulate the condition of the outward world, is as much as to grant a charter to those powers to regulate the foreign affairs of the indifferent power arbitrarily. I believe, gentlemen, that, with citizens of Massachusetts, there can be no difference of opinion about these

views; and thus the success or the failure of my humble endeavors is reduced to the question, 'Are the measures which I respectfully ask contrary to the principles and interests of the United States, or not?' "

From this point Kossuth proceeded to argue this question. He spoke of his wishes, of the position of Hungary, upon the neutrality laws; and declared his position was what the democratic party had adopted before he came to America, what Mr. Cass had proposed to Congress, what Mr. Fillmore declared in his message, and what Mr. Webster defended. He explained his position in reference to material aid. He asked means now, only that the Hungarians might get control of the resources of their country. He did not ask it to revolutionize Europe. Revolutions could not be made by force,— they must spring from necessity; and when there was necessity, and the spirit of liberty, the revolution must happen. He argued that the people of Europe were much better prepared for revolution now than in 1848, and the despots were not so well prepared. If Louis Napoleon held his place, and a foreign war were made by France, it must be a European war, and then the friends of liberty might have a good chance. If Louis Napoleon did not maintain himself, there would again be a chance for the oppressed. He spoke against the doctrine that the people of Europe were not prepared for republican government. In the revolution of 1848 they failed, because they sought after something besides a republic. They supported centralization, and centralization was fatal to liberty. Centralization was only not dangerous in the hands of men like Washington; and Washingtons were not so thickly strewn, now-a-days.

In conclusion, Kossuth said he had been told that the people of Massachusetts were cold. God grant that he might always be among such cold people as he had found in Massachusetts! The people were too wise, too prudent, too intelligent, to act upon sudden excitement. They liked to consider. Then how happy must he be to meet in Massachusetts such warm hearts, because it was from calm reflection, because the people of New England had always been known for their attachment to principle. Sudden excitement passed away; the tear of passion dried up; but principles were eternal. Some people might forget him, but he knew the people of Massachusetts would never forget his cause.

While Kossuth was speaking he was frequently applauded with enthusiasm; and when he concluded, six cheers were given.

KOSSUTH'S VISIT TO THE ARMORY.

At the conclusion of the speech, Kossuth descended from the pulpit, and, while the audience paused, passed out of the house, amid hearty cheers, in company with his entertainers and members of the state committee, and took a carriage to visit the United States Armory, on the hill. The National Horse Guards acted as escort. The streets were filled with people who had not been able to get into the church, and, when joined by the immense concourse that poured out of the edifice, presented a splendid spectacle of popular enthusiasm. Through this crowd, and partly accompanied by it, the Magyar and his cortege moved off for the place they were to visit.

The Guards led the way up State-street, turned the corner at the extreme of the Armory grounds, and stopped at the shop where the musket-stocks are manufactured. Here Kossuth met, and by Mr. Calhoun was introduced to, Col. Ripley, the Superintendent of the Armory, who took his arm, and conducted him through the whole establishment, pointing out to him the entire process of manufacture. Kossuth was particularly delighted with the machinery for the manufacture of stocks, and witnessed the manufacture of a stock from the rough block to the finished article. To the workmen he addressed frequent questions, and always thanked them, and gave them a cordial shake of the hand, in return for their answers. Kossuth apprehended the principles of the machinery exhibited to him with great facility, and was greatly interested in all he saw.

From the shops the company proceeded to the Arsenal, and went through that immense building, viewing the arms there stored, to the extent of hundreds of thousands. While looking at them, Kossuth exclaimed, "If I only had these arms in Hungary, and the enthusiasm of the people of Springfield to back them, I should have no fears for Hungarian independence."

Kossuth was then conducted to the top of the tower, and shown the city of Springfield. Afterwards, he examined a model, manufactured at the Armory, exhibiting the principle of Foucault's discovery, demonstrating the rotation of the earth upon its axis. In this he was much interested, and received its explanation with many thanks.

A large number of ladies were congregated at the Arsenal, and

waved their handkerchiefs and flags with much enthusiasm. The guest and his friends at last reëntered their carriages, and proceeded down State street and up Main, to the Massasoit House, from which, after a hasty lunch, and the reception of several visitors, Kossuth and suite proceeded to the Northampton cars, and soon left Springfield behind him.

The Springfield Republican, a whig paper, not over partial to Kossuth, says of his visit: "Never, probably, has Kossuth received, in a city of this size, an ovation so cordial, so hearty, and at the same time so spontaneous, as that which he received here on Saturday. The impression he has left upon our citizens is a good one, and he certainly cannot be insensible to the honor Springfield has shown him."

KOSSUTH AT NORTHAMPTON.

ON Saturday afternoon, April 24, Kossuth was met at Springfield by Erastus Hopkins, of the Massachusetts state committee, and with his suite and the members of the sub-committee was conducted in a special car to the beautiful town of Northampton.

The train in which Kossuth left Springfield was a special one, and performed the passage through, without stops, in thirty-eight minutes. On the arrival of the train at Chicopee, a large crowd had assembled, who greeted the flying cars with hearty cheers; and another crowd and another shower of cheers hailed them at Holyoke.

Kossuth reached Northampton at three o'clock, and before leaving the cars was introduced to the selectmen by Mr. Hopkins.

He was addressed in a few words of welcome by John W. Wilson, Esq., chairman of the selectmen, in which he took occasion to remark that in Kossuth they recognized the embodiment of the principle of liberty, and the great leader of the oppressed in the cause of freedom.

Kossuth replied briefly, thanking him for his kind welcome, and saying, if there was anything embodied in him, it was misfortune; and the sympathy of his fellow-men was therefore deeply grateful to him.

Kossuth was then conducted to the front of the depot, where the Northampton Artillery and the Amherst Artillery, under the command of Colonel Haws, and the Torrent Engine Company, No. 1, were drawn up to receive him, the military presenting arms. On his appearance, the Magyar was greeted by the shouts of at least three

thousand people, whose hurras were mingled with the sound of martial music, and the thunder of artillery from the heights above the town. Kossuth and his suite and the committees then entered carriages, and, escorted by the military and firemen, the procession moved to the residence of Erastus Hopkins, on King-street, where Kossuth remained a few moments, in order to gain a little repose; after which the procession was again formed, and proceeded to the First Congregational Church, on Main-street, which was reached at half-past three o'clock. Here a dense audience was assembled, comprising many ladies, who received the illustrious Magyar with shouts of welcome.

Kossuth gracefully bowed a response, and took a seat in front of the pulpit. The audience was composed in great part of Hungarian bondholders. The following extract from the call for the meeting explains the terms on which they were admitted:

“The Hungarian leader and the world-renowned orator will visit Northampton on Saturday evening, April 24th, and will address the Hungarian bondholders and citizens at the First Church, at eight o'clock, P. M. Doors open for the admission of bondholders at two o'clock, and for the public generally after the entrance of Governor Kossuth. All those who sympathize with the oppressed, and hope for the day when liberty shall triumph and Hungary be free, are invited to invest in this glorious fund.”

Among the purchasers of Hungarian bonds were Otto and Jenny Lind Goldschmidt, Judge Dewey, and many of the Professors of Amherst College. Upon the platform were Hon. Lewis Strong and Judge Dewey. The meeting was opened by a brief address from Mr. Hopkins, in which he introduced Kossuth to the Hon. Chauncey Clark, chairman of the committee of arrangements. Mr. Clark then welcomed the Magyar in behalf of his fellow-citizens to Northampton, in a speech of marked ability, strongly sympathizing with the great leader in his efforts to liberate his father-land.

Kossuth, in reply, spoke about half an hour. He commenced with allusions to the historical associations of the town, to its natural beauty, and to its political importance, as once the residence of Joseph Hawley, a leader in the Massachusetts Legislature before the Revolution, and as the burial-place of three senators in Congress,—Eli P. Ashmun, E. H. Mills, I. C. Bates,—and as the town from which were selected two of the Chief-justices of Massachusetts. He spoke

also of Jonathan Edwards, and hoped that for liberty he might be able to make such an impression in the political world as this great divine had made in the religious world.

Speaking of that eminent Governor of Massachusetts, Caleb Strong, who had been a citizen of Northampton, Kossuth said that he had just had the honor of an introduction to one of his descendants. Suiting the action to the word, he stepped forward to where the Hon. Lewis Strong was sitting, and shook him cordially by the hand. The applause which followed was tremendous.

He proceeded to speak of the position and condition of Hungary; of its history and its institutions, and the character of its people; and then briefly explained the objects of his mission, and the hopes he had in coming to the United States.

The republicans of America, he thought, were a proud people, and not without cause. But if, through this feeling of proud self-reliance, they look with indifference on the condition of Europe, the absolutistical powers of Europe will not only crush liberty there, but, because of the fear and hatred engendered towards the United States in consequence of their wonderful growth and power, the tyrants will do everything in their power to check that marvellous prosperity; because, if America continues to grow as she has for the last seventy-five years, the despots of Europe will never feel safe. If it were possible for him to imagine that he was the Czar of Russia, he should feel a necessity in his heart, looking to the future support of his absolute power, to do everything to crush the republican principles of America.

The hope of the down-trodden nations of Europe, he said, had been awakened by the sending of an American national vessel to receive him and his fellow-exiles; and they believed that America would be to them a guardian genius, and would cause the principle of freedom to triumph throughout the world. He would implore the American people to authorize him to carry back with him to Europe the assurance that the oppressed nations there should not look in vain to America for assistance in acquiring freedom. If she failed to do this, darkness will spread over the cause of liberty. The cause is worthy of her support, and does not conflict with her true interests.

He then drew an interesting and affecting picture of the sufferings of Hungary under the iron rule of Austria, painting in vivid colors the distress of the people. The taxes, he said, have been increased, within a few years, from four and a half millions to sixty-five millions, and many proprietors of large estates have desired to relinquish them

to government, because the taxes on them amounted to more than the revenue derived from them.

He concluded by commending the cause of Hungary, as a just and righteous one; and entreated his hearers to keep a kind little place in their hearts for the poor exile; but, if they forgot him, not to forget dear Hungary. Kossuth was repeatedly interrupted by the heartiest applause. At the conclusion of his speech, he was reëscorted to the residence of Mr. Hopkins, where he spent the Sabbath.

KOSSUTH'S RECEPTION BY THE STATE COMMITTEE.

AT half past eleven o'clock, Monday, April 26, Kossuth and his suite, together with the state sub-committee and Mr. Hopkins, arrived at the railroad depot in Springfield, where, upon a platform which had been erected for the occasion, he was met by the state committee, consisting of twenty-one Senators and Representatives, who had arrived in a special train from Boston, but a few minutes before. Mr. Burlingame introduced the Magyar to General Wilson, the chairman of the committee, who addressed him in the following eloquent and appropriate terms:

GENERAL WILSON'S ADDRESS.

“GOVERNOR KOSSUTH: In the name and in behalf of the government, I bid you welcome to the commonwealth of Massachusetts; to the hospitalities of the authorities, and the sincere and enthusiastic greetings of the people. I welcome you, sir, to a commonwealth which recognizes the unity of mankind, the brotherhood of men and of nations; a commonwealth where the equality of all men, before the law, is fully established; where ‘personal freedom is secured in its completest individuality, and common consent recognized as the only just origin of fundamental laws.’

“Welcome, sir, to the soil consecrated by the tears and prayers of the Pilgrim exiles, and by the first blood of the Revolution! Welcome to the halls of council where Otis, and Hancock, and the Adamses, breathed into the nation the breath of life; to the fields of battle where Warren and his comrades fell fighting for freedom and the rights of man; and where the peerless chieftain, to whose tomb you have just made a pilgrimage, first marshalled the armies of the republic! Welcome to the native state of Franklin, who pleaded the

cause of his country, to willing and unwilling ears, in the Old World, as you are pleading the cause of your country in the New World! Welcome to the acquaintance of a people who cherish your cause in their hearts, and who pronounce your name with affection and admiration! Welcome to their free institutions,—institutions of religion, and of learning, and of charity, reared by the free choice of the people for the culture of all, and the relief of all,—institutions which are the fruits of freedom such as you strove to give to your father-land, for which crime you are this day a homeless and persecuted exile!

“To-day you are the guest of Massachusetts. Sir, the people of Massachusetts are not man-worshippers. They will pay you no unmeaning compliments, no empty honors. But they know your history by heart. Your early consecration to freedom; your years of persecution and imprisonment; your sublime devotion to the nationality and elevation of your country; the matchless eloquence and untiring energy with which at home you combated the Austrian despotism, with which in exile you have pleaded the cause of Hungarian liberty, the cause of universal democratic freedom and of national right; the lofty steadiness of your purpose, and the stainless purity of your life,—these have won their sympathy, and command their profoundest admiration. Descendants of Pilgrim exiles, we greet you warmly. Sons of Revolutionary patriots, we hail you as the exiled leader of a noble struggle for ancient rights and national independence. We receive you as the representative of Hungary, as the champion of republicanism in Europe. We welcome you, as we would welcome your gallant people into the sisterhood of republics, into the family of nations.

“The people of this commonwealth, sir, watched the noble struggle of your nation with admiration and with hope. They felt that the armies you organized and sent into the field were fighting the battles, not of Hungary alone, but of the world; because they were fought for freedom and for progress. Your victories were our victories. And when, by the treachery of Gorgey, Hungary fell before the armed intervention of Russia, they felt, and still feel, that the Czar had not only violated the rights of Hungary, but had outraged the law of nations, and the sentiment of the civilized world. On this subject the message of his Excellency the Governor, and the resolutions pending before the Legislature, utter the sentiments of the people of Massachusetts.

“The wave of reäction has swept over Europe. The high hopes excited by the revolutions of 1848 are buried in the graves and dungeons of the martyrs of freedom, are quenched in the blood of the subjugated people. The iron heel of absolutism presses the beating hearts of the nations. The voice of freedom is heard only in the threatening murmurs of the down-trodden masses, or in the sad accents of their exiled leaders. But all is not lost. God lives and reigns. The purest, the noblest, the most powerful impulses of the great heart of humanity, are for right and liberty. Glorious actions and noble aims are never wholly lost. The

— ‘seed of generous sacrifice,
Though seeming on the desert cast,
Shall rise with flower and fruit at last.’

“When you quit the shores of the republic, you will carry with you the prayers of Massachusetts, that the days of your exile may be few, and the subjugation of your people brief; that your country may speedily assume her proper high position among the nations; and that you may give to her councils in the future, as you have in the past, the weight of your character and the power of your intellect, to guide her onward in the career of progress and of democratic freedom.

“Again, sir, in the name of the government and people of Massachusetts, I welcome you to our hearts and to our homes. I welcome you to such a reception as it becomes a free and democratic people to give to the most illustrious living leader and champion of freedom and democracy.”

KOSSUTH'S REPLY.

“MR. CHAIRMAN, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE COMMITTEE: I feel not a little emotion in recalling to memory the deep meaning of all those eloquent words you have spoken, assuring me that the people of Massachusetts trust in God; and that, upon such reliance, success is sure; and that, therefore, Hungary must soon be free from oppression. May the assurances you give me be realized! I hope much of the generous character of Massachusetts. I know her weight in the national councils. I beg leave to return my sincere and hearty thanks for the kind and obliging manner in which you have been pleased to welcome me; and I must express thanks for the high honor I have, to see myself the guest of Massachusetts. I should feel somewhat embarrassed, in accepting these honors, if they were intended for

myself alone; but I know the people and government bestow these honors as a manifestation of the interest they take, and the general concern they have, in my country, its unrighteous fall and unmitigated sufferings; and to be also a manifestation of your sympathy in our cause, because its issue is not indifferent to the Christian world. Gentlemen, I have hastened from the southern border of this great country, on the wings of the great democratic steam-engine, in order that I may have the high honor of meeting the Legislature of Massachusetts. I feel proud in being in charge of the gentlemen of this committee; and will be happy to cross with them the glorious old Bay State, to the still more glorious Cradle of American Liberty."

Colonels Chapman, Williams and Needham, of the governor's staff, were then introduced, by Mr. Hopkins of Northampton; and Colonel Williams, in behalf of the staff, addressed Kossuth as follows:

"GOVERNOR KOSSUTH: By order of his Excellency the Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, it is made our pleasant duty, as a portion of his military staff, to meet you here, and conduct you to the capital of the state, if it be your pleasure.

"Upon your arrival in Boston, you will be met by a division of the volunteer militia of the state, to escort you to the state-house, where you will be officially received by his Excellency the Governor. That you may become better acquainted with our military system and discipline, his Excellency the Governor requests us to invite you and your staff to review the troops composing the division, on Boston Common, to-morrow afternoon.

"Without troubling you with a speech, permit us to offer you our warmest sympathies, and most hearty congratulations."

Kossuth thanked the colonel personally for the kind message he had been pleased to bear from his Excellency, and begged him to be pleased to convey his gratitude to Governor Boutwell, not only for the attention he had been pleased to bestow on the cause he advocated, but in an especial manner because he had taken the lead in the matter. He would be glad to meet the militia of Massachusetts, which, by its very character, renowned in days of old, proved that the best defenders of a free country were the people themselves. Kossuth again thanked the colonel, and through him the governor.

Kossuth then proceeded to the Massasoit House, under the conduct of the governor's staff and the general committee. The crowd in the

depot at the time was immense; and, as the Hungarian passed to the hotel, repeated calls were made for a speech. In one instance, Kossuth stopped, and remarked, "We are old friends,—you and I have met before." This pleased the crowd, and they fell back, and Kossuth passed into the hotel.

Soon after entering the hotel, Kossuth was introduced to each member of the legislative committee. Immediately afterwards, and while the committee were yet in the reception-room, General Wilson introduced to Kossuth the Rev. William B. Greene, of Brookfield, who presented him with a purse of one hundred dollars, the subscription of certain inhabitants of Brookfield to the Hungarian fund, and then addressed him as follows :

"SIR: Knowing your high regard for municipal institutions, and your dislike to all centralization, the selectmen of Brookfield, local officers chosen by the people of that town, have taken the liberty to send you the following letter, which they request me to read to you. As it is advertised in the newspapers that you will stop ten minutes at the West Brookfield station, the selectmen have instructed me to request you — if it suits your convenience — to defer any remarks you may be pleased to make, in reply to their letter, until they have the honor to meet you at that place. They send their letter to Springfield, in order that no moment may be lost, and that you may have the whole time at your own disposal, when you arrive at Brookfield : for it is natural to suppose that the people would prefer to hear you speak, rather than to hear their own letter read."

"*Brookfield, April 25th.*

"TO LOUIS KOSSUTH, Governor of Hungary *de jure* :

"Money is strong, iron is strong, calumny is strong; but truthful thought, which appeals to the conscience,—that mightiest element of man's nature,—and human speech, which is the vehicle of thought, are stronger than these. Human thought and human speech are the levers upon which God lays his hand, when he wills to upheave the nations. Your words recall to the mind of this people the days of its first love. Amid the glare of material interests, we were in danger of forgetting, for a time, the high destiny to which we have been called by Divine Providence; we were in danger of forgetting that we stood at the head of the advance guard of liberated nations; but liberty, which is the righteousness of states, is, like all righteousness, revealed from faith to faith; and the spirit of the American Revolution, re-

flected back again from the revolutions of Europe, comes to consciousness of itself, and can never again forget itself. Yet our hearts became glad, notwithstanding all this, when we heard of your saying, in New Jersey, that you should make not many more speeches, because the time for action was drawing nigh; we rejoice to think that even your voice, powerful as it is, may soon give place to an equally authentic voice, that shall speak in the thunder of Hungarian artillery. For we believe (because you have said it) that the day of Hungary's resurrection is even now at hand; though we knew well, before you said it, that God would not suffer your down-trodden country to remain always in her living tomb.

“We are all peace men here; we are all waiting for the descent of the New Jerusalem from God out of Heaven. But we know that the world is wicked, and that despotism, which lives by violence, must perish by violence; we know that our Lord came, not to bring peace to those who profit by iniquity, but a sword; we know that he said, ‘I am come to kindle a fire in the world, and what would I that it were already kindled!’ So long as the Austro-Russian despotism shall bear sway in the world, punishing women by the scourge, imprisoning, torturing and slaughtering men, corrupting the moral sentiment of the leaders of opinion,—yea, even in republican America,—the kingdom of the God of peace cannot be established on the earth; for it is written, ‘There is no peace, saith my God, for the wicked.’

“No man can isolate himself from other men; no nation can isolate itself from other nations. The nation that wraps itself in its own selfishness begins to suffer moral death. That which interests the welfare of the human race interests every particular man.

“We are not of the number who say, What is Hungary to us, or we to Hungary? for we recognize that whatever relates to man, and especially to man aspiring after freedom, relates to us also. We honor ourselves in our own hearts, we rise in our own estimation, because we are conscious of being able to commune with you, and with the spirit of Hungary, in sympathy, if not in action.

“Certain individuals in Brookfield have subscribed small sums to the Hungarian fund. We have to request, if it would suit your pleasure, that you would be so good as to touch with your hand the notes they will receive in exchange for their subscriptions. So shall our children, when they touch those notes, touch that which you also have touched; and thus will they be able to establish a certain solidarity between themselves and you, and, through you, a certain solidarity with the

Hungarian people. Who knows but what some magnetic influence may thus be transmitted to them, which shall strengthen their aspirations for freedom, and thus increase the love of liberty in the world?

“FRANCIS HOWE, } *Selectmen*
 “PERLEY STEVENS, } *of*
 “L. MCFARLANE, } *Brookfield.*”

Kossuth, in reply to Mr. Greene, addressed him personally, as a clergyman, in some very impressive remarks on the subject of peace, which, unfortunately, were not reported at the time, as they were entirely extemporaneous and unexpected. He promised to reply to the letter of the selectmen when he should arrive at North Brookfield. To Kossuth's remarks upon peace, Mr. Greene replied substantially as follows :

“Sir: The sentimentalism which passes under the name of ‘peace doctrine’ is evidently unscriptural; and you have shown it to be irrational. It is true our Lord said, ‘Resist not evil;’ and also, ‘If a man smite thee on the right cheek, turn unto him the left;’ but these commands have no absolute application; for, if they were of absolute application, they would not have been subsequently repealed. It is written, ‘Jesus said unto his disciples, When I sent you without purse, and scrip, and shoes, lacked ye anything? And they said, Nothing. Then said he unto them, But now, he that hath a purse, let him take it, and likewise his scrip; *and he that hath no sword, let him sell his garment and buy one.*’ Thus it appears that when our Lord was illegally arrested by the self-constituted force to whom he was betrayed by Judas Iscariot, Simon Peter was armed, in accordance with the express command of his Master; for the words here quoted were uttered in reference to that occasion. We read, a few verses further on, ‘And they said, Lord, behold, here are two swords. And he said unto them, It is enough.’ Enough for what? Not enough to insure success in a contest with the creatures of the high-priest, and of the rulers; but enough to vindicate the principle that, when kings, emperors, high-priests, judges,—like those of Russia and Austria, for example,—assume tyrannical powers, their illegal usurpations may be lawfully resisted by the sword, and this whether the occasion presents itself in Judea or in Hungary. Our Lord did not suffer his servants to proceed in their resistance; and he explains his conduct by saying that he proposed to establish his kingdom, not visibly, at first, but rather in the hearts and consciences of men; but he remarks that his servants

would have fought, if it had been his object to establish a visible kingdom in the world. Now, I take it that the republic of Hungary proposes to exist actually and visibly on the face of the earth; and that it is, therefore, a political organization, for which the servants of Christ may lawfully fight. It is your duty, sir, to serve God in your heart, and to do all in your power to hasten the triumph of the Prince of Peace; but you have duties toward Cæsar, as well as duties toward God; that is, duties in this existing world of political relations, as well as duties in that kingdom which exists now spiritually, but which shall hereafter exist politically also. It is written, 'There were great voices in heaven, saying, The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ; and he shall reign for ever and ever.' Your present duty towards Cæsar—that is, your duty, as a Christian man, in your relations with the political powers which are soon to disappear and make way for Christ's kingdom—appears to me, sir, to be this,—to attack the Austro-Russian despotism, as soon as occasion offers, with the sword. Any person who reads the Scriptures without prejudices must, I think, see that the so called 'peace doctrines' are not taught there.

“The religion of the New Testament is opposed to everything which tends to isolate man from man, and nation from nation. Wars are of two kinds: wars of tyrants against the nations, for the purpose of creating division, scission, enmity, between nation and nation, between town and town, between man and man; such wars are condemned by the gospel: and wars of the people against the tyrants,—wars which have for their object to establish harmony, peace and brotherhood, between nation and nation, town and town, man and man: such wars are holy. It is written, mystically, that, to further the purposes of a holy war of the people against their tyrants, the waters of the great rivers shall be dried up, to prepare a way for the kings of the east; and that the tyrants and their creatures shall be gathered together in a place called in the Hebrew tongue Armageddon, there to undergo a final defeat at the hands of God, and of the Lamb, and of the children of the heavenly kingdom. All the prophets and apostles foretell this holy war, which is predetermined in the immutable counsel of God. It is for us to take care that, when the bridegroom comes, we may not be found sleeping.

“Isolation reigned under all the old religions; but solidarity, which is the opposite of isolation, will reign in the world when the religion of Christ triumphs. The Jews contradistinguished them-

selves from the Gentiles, the Greeks from the Barbarians; and the Romans conceived themselves to be, by mere right of birth, supreme over all other men. But how does the apostle characterize the New Dispensation? He says, 'There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither male nor female; for ye are all ONE in Christ Jesus. There is neither circumcision nor uncircumcision, Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free; for Christ is all, and in all. Through Christ, we have access by one spirit unto the Father. Now, therefore, ye are no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God.' The apostle speaks of a 'mystery' that had been kept secret in the counsels of God from the foundation of the world; a mystery that angels had desired to look into, but had not been able until after it was revealed in the operation of the constitution of the church. What is the mystery which was revealed, 'to the intent that unto principalities and powers in heavenly places might be made known the manifold wisdom of God'? It is this: 'that in the dispensation of the fulness of times, *God might gather together in one* all things in Christ, both things which are in heaven and things which are on earth.' So the bond of solidarity takes hold of heavenly as well as of earthly things,—as, indeed, Wesley sings, in the hymn commencing, 'The saints above and saints below in one communion join.' Thus the principles of the gospel are identified in express terms with the principle of solidarity, that fundamental principle of all genuine democracy. Thus democracy, when received in its truth, is shown to be identical with religion.

“The doctrine of the apostle does not differ from that of his Master. Our Lord said, in the most solemn moment, perhaps, of his life, when he instituted the communion service (that sacrament of solidarity), and just before he was destroyed, 'I pray, Father, that they all may be ONE; as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they may be ONE in us.' And, in the same connection, he intimates that the solidarity of his disciples is to be the evidence to the world of the reality of his mission. 'I in them, and thou in me, that they may be made perfect in ONE; *that the world may know that thou hast sent me.*' A Christianity that forgets the doctrine and the practice of solidarity is no Christianity; for it fails to present the requisite characteristics: it is something against which the gates of hell continually prevail.”

At two o'clock, Kossuth and his suite dined at the Massasoit House, with the state committee and a few invited guests. Immediately after

dinner, the committee, with Kossuth and his companions, left Springfield in a special train. At Palmer, some hundreds of people were collected. Kossuth stepped to the platform of the car he was in, and after he had been introduced to the people by Mr. S. T. Wallace, he spoke to them a few minutes. He said, in substance, that, as they were acquainted with the condition of Hungary, he need not argue its claims; that he was happy to be the guest of Massachusetts, and recommended the cause of Hungary to their persevering sympathy. He was very warmly applauded.

At North Brookfield a large crowd had collected on the further side of the depot. Kossuth left the cars to reply to the letter of the selectmen, which, he said, was one of the most gratifying addresses he had received since his arrival in America.

“I am told,” said he, “that you are an agricultural people. I love agriculture. O, that it might be given me to have the tranquillity of a country life in my own dear land, during my few remaining years! You say you are men of peace. I am a man of peace. God knows how I love peace. But I hope I shall never be such a coward as to mistake oppression for peace. So long as there is oppression, there must be strife; and so long as my country is oppressed, I must be a man of strife. But you hear the democratic locomotive. That waits for no man, and I must bid you farewell.”

At Worcester an immense multitude of people had poured in from the surrounding country to do honor to Kossuth, and witness his welcome to the “heart of the commonwealth.” At half-past four, the approach of the special train from Springfield was announced by the discharge of cannon and the ringing of bells. At five, the train reached the railroad station, around which thousands of men were gathered in a dense mass, all eager to catch a glimpse of Kossuth. Here Kossuth was introduced to the mayor, with whom he entered a carriage, accompanied by Colonel Williams, of the governor’s staff. A smile of satisfaction and pleasure gleamed upon the face of the Magyar, as he looked around upon the enthusiastic multitude, who rent the air with cheers; and, with head uncovered, he rose, bowed, and waved his hand. A procession was formed immediately, composed of a long cavalcade, two companies of the military, and a long series of carriages, containing the Hungarians, the legislative committee, and municipal officers and other gentlemen of Worcester, which proceeded, amid the thunder of artillery and the clangor of all the city bells,

through Summer-street to Lincoln-square, and thence through Main and Front to Park street, in the following order :

Two Assistant Marshals.
 Cavalcade.
 Chief Marshal.
 Music.
 Military.
 MAYOR AND KOSSUTH.
 Chairman of State and City Committees.
 Kossuth's Suite.
 Executive Committee of the City.
 State Committee.
 Committee of Arrangements.
 German Committee.
 Members of the City Government.
 Citizens.

As the procession moved through Main-street to the Common, flags suspended at intervals from either side, and bearing mottoes appropriate to the occasion, floated upon the breeze, which bore upward the strains of martial music, and the shouts of the thronging multitude.

At the corner of Central-street, the stars and stripes, thus suspended, bore the following : "WELCOME TO GOV. KOSSUTH."

A little further on, the Worcester Museum was finely decorated with American and Hungarian flags.

Next was an American flag, with the motto "IN PEACE PREPARE FOR WAR."

Proceeding onward to the American House, another splendid flag was seen, with the motto, "HUNGARY AND LIBERTY."

From the flag-pole of the Worcester House the stars and stripes waved in the breeze.

Approaching the corner of Maine and Front streets, another magnificent banner floated above the procession, upon which were the words, "TERROR TO TYRANTS AND LIBERTY TO THE WORLD."

Turning the corner upon Front-street, was still another, with the following : "WELCOME TO KOSSUTH, AND PATRIOTS OF EVERY NATION."

Upon the Common the American and Hungarian standards were floating from the city liberty-pole, while beneath were gathered the

enthusiastic multitudes, who had assembled to welcome the great advocate of human rights.

The escort having halted opposite the Park-street Church at a few minutes before six o'clock, Kossuth, accompanied by the mayor of the city, ascended the speaker's stand, erected on the south side of the common, and was followed by his suite and the remainder of the party. Here he was greeted with the greatest enthusiasm by the immense multitude that filled the surrounding area.

When the shouting had somewhat subsided, the Hon. Peter C. Bacon, Mayor of Worcester, took the platform, and said :

“ GOVERNOR KOSSUTH: It has fallen to my lot to perform the delightful duty, upon this most joyous occasion, in the presence of both branches of the city government, and this immense concourse of spectators, to express to you their profound sentiments of sympathy and welcome. Your presence has awakened unusual joy throughout our city; and, in the name and in behalf of the city council of Worcester, and of this great gathering of citizens, I bid you a cordial and most hearty welcome. And permit me to assure you, in behalf of the city government and people, that we entertain the deepest sympathy for you, and the noble cause to which you have devoted, and are now devoting, your life. We recognize in you the honest representative of popular liberty and human progress upon the continent from which you came. And we earnestly hope that you will feel at home among us.

“ You are surrounded to-day by the moral atmosphere that inspired the souls of Hancock, and Warren, and Adams, and Otis, and which nerved the hearts of those who made Lexington, Concord and Bunker Hill, immortal names. The love of liberty is indigenous to our soil. Here, where our forefathers fled from the tyranny of the Old World, they laid the foundations of free institutions, deep and strong, upon the rock of principle. Here they caused to rise together the church and the free school-house, together with a free press, for a free people, and an open Bible; and these have made us what we are. Our cold climate and our sterile soil have proved to us a blessing; and, unenervated by luxury, strengthened by manly labor from day to day, and from year to year, we, their descendants, have kept the fires of liberty burning to the present hour. They were imported in the Mayflower, and were at last embodied in the Declaration of Independence, that great charter of our liberties.

“Among the cherished principles that we have inherited from our fathers, is the right of every nation to manage its own domestic affairs in its own way. [Cheers.] Holding these principles, and seeing their beneficial operation in the history of our own and other nations, what language of ours can express our feelings of execration against the monster wrong of the despots of Europe, who combined their energies of oppression to crush the nationality of your native land, and compelled you to stand here to-day an exile?”

“But all is not lost. There remains in the hearts of men, in every clime and nation, a deep and growing sentiment in favor of liberty. There remains the unconquerable and iron will to serve her cause; and there is, too, a just God, who rules the affairs of nations; and, though clouds have gathered and obscured the sun of Hungarian independence for the present, the time will yet come when Hungary shall enjoy a glorious freedom.

“Once more I bid you welcome, thrice welcome, to our city, to the heart of the commonwealth, and to the hearts of its people.”

KOSSUTH'S FIRST SPEECH AT WORCESTER.

“Let me not speak, gentlemen. It is not possible for any eloquence to equal the rising majesty of the people's spirit. Well, now that is an ocean before me. Sometimes God stirs the waves; then no man can dominate over them. But when God stretches his hand in peace over the waves, then the slightest breeze may be heard. [Cheers.] See how the waves move now!”

“Gentlemen, like as the Holy Scriptures are the revelations of religious truth, teaching men how to attain eternal bliss, so history is the revelation of eternal wisdom, instructing nations how to be happy and immortal on earth. The rising and decline, the standing and the fall, of nations, are equally instructive to the contemplating mind. Unaccountable changes may alter, on a sudden, the condition of individuals, but in the life of nations there is always a logical concatenation of cause and effect; therefore history is the book of life.

“I like to look into the book of life; to me it is an enchanted mirror, wherein the past assumes the shape of future events. The history of old Massachusetts is full of instruction to those who know how to read unwritten philosophy in written facts. Besides, to me it is of deep interest, because, from the very time that the colonial system was adopted by Great Britain, to secure the monopoly of the

American trade, and to prevent the rising of the colonists to strengthen independence, down to Washington's misfortunes and final victories,—from James Otis, pleading with words of flame the rights of America before the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, breathing into the nation the breath of life, out of which American Independence was born, down to the Declaration of Independence, first moved by a son of Massachusetts,—there are such striking resemblances between your country's history and that of mine, that, in reflecting upon them, I often believe I read Hungary when I read Massachusetts. [Cheers.] But, then, when the kind cheers of your generous-hearted people rouse me out of my contemplative reveries, and, looking around me, I see your prosperity, a sadness of nameless woe comes over my mind, because that very prosperity reminds me that I am not at home. The home of my fathers, the home of my heart, the home of my affections and of my cares, is in the most striking contrast with the prosperity I see here. And whence this striking contrast in the results, when there exists such a striking identity in the antecedents? Whence this afflicting departure from the logical necessity in history,—whereas the resemblance in proceedings goes so far, that I act precisely that part in the United States which Massachusetts' immortal son, Franklin, acted in France;—acted, it is true, supported by infinite personal merit, whereas I have none, but, I dare say, acted not with more devotion than I myself. [Cheers.]

“Well, the cause which accounts for the mighty difference in the results is, that your struggle for independence met the good luck of monarchical France stipulating to aid with its full force America struggling for independence, whereas republican America delayed even a speedy recognition of Hungary's achieved independence. However, the equality of results may yet come. History will not prove false to poor Hungary, while it proves true to all the world. I certainly will never meet the reputation of Franklin; but I may yet meet his good luck in a patriotic mission. [Cheers.] It is not yet too late. [Cheers.] My people, like the damsel in the Scriptures, is but sleeping, and not dead. [Cheers.] Sleep is silent, but restores to strength. [Cries of ‘Good, good.’] There is apparent silence also in nature before the storm; only the stormy petrel sweeps along, scenting instinctively the approaching storm. I am somewhat of a storm-bird; only I do not scent the storm instinctively, but know it consciously. [Cheers.] Then why should I despond to see yet history true to its logic? Why should I despair to meet in my mission the good luck of Franklin yet?

We are down-trodden, it is true; but was Washington not in a dreary retreat, with his few brave men, scarcely to be called an army, when Franklin drew nigh to success in his mission?

“ My retreat is somewhat longer, to be sure; but then our struggle went on, from the first moment, on a more gigantic scale; and, again, the success of Franklin was aided by the hatred of France against England; so I am told, and it is true; but I have for me the love of America for liberty and for right; and God knows my people’s cause is the cause of liberty. [Cheers.] I trust that the love of liberty in republican America will prove such a source of generous inspiration, as hatred of Great Britain did prove in monarchical France. And, should it be the doom of humanity that even republics like yours could be more mightily moved by hatred than by love, I may be permitted to ask, is there less reason for republican America to hate the overwhelming progress of absolutism than there was reason for France to hate England’s prosperity? The United States, torn from the dominion of England, did not injure her prosperity; rather it has increased it in ultimate results; but the predominance of absolutism, absorbing Europe, would injure your prosperity, because you are no China, no Japan; you cannot confine yourself within your own boundaries. Having entered the family of nations, national intercourse has become a life-artery to you; and, that being the case, the condition of the outward world, with which you have, and must continue to have, a national intercourse, cannot be indifferent to you. The effects of intercourse are reciprocal; and when principles are brought to a clashing strife, there is community in the results.

“ Principles and their influence are not to be confined by geographical lines. America cannot remain unaffected by the condition of Europe, with which you have a thousand-fold intercourse. A passing accident in Liverpool, a fire in Manchester, cannot fail to be felt in America; — how could, then, the fire of despotic oppression, which threatens to consume all Europe, freedom, civilization and property, fail to affect, in its results, America? How can it be indifferent to you, if Europe be free or enslaved? How can it be indifferent to you, if there exists a thing styled ‘Law of Nations,’ or if no such thing more exists, being replaced by the arbitrary whims of an arrogant mortal, who is called ‘Czar’? [A voice, — ‘Three groans for the Czar.’ The groans were given with right good-will.] Well, that is good; but I hope the time draws near when we will give him something more hard than groans. [Cheers.] No! either all the instruc-

tion of history is vanity, and its warnings but the pastime of a mocking-bird, or this indifference is impossible; therefore I may yet meet with Franklin's good luck. [Cheers.]

"Franklin wrote to his friend, Charles Thompson, after having concluded the treaty of peace, 'If we ever become ungrateful to those who have served and befriended us, our reputation, and all the strength it is capable of procuring, will be lost, and new dangers ensue.

"Perhaps I could say, poor Hungary has well served Christendom, has well served the cause of humanity; but, indeed, we are not so happy as to have served your country in particular. But you are generous enough, that our unmerited misfortunes may as much recommend us to your affections as a good service might recommend us. It is beautiful to repay a received benefit, but to bestow a benefit is divine. [Loud and repeated cheers.] It is your good fortune to be able to do good to humanity; let it your glory be, that you are willing to do it. [Cheers.]

"Such and similar have been the thoughts which came to my mind while I passed over the classical soil of Massachusetts. There was consolation in that progress, and there was hope and encouragement in it. And now here I stand, in the heart of this glorious commonwealth. [Cheers.] O! let me lay my hand upon that heart, and mark the pulsation of it; the pulsation of my own heart much depends upon how the heart of your commonwealth throbs. [Cheers.]

"Yes, gentlemen; anxious hope and expectations of millions have accompanied me to your shores.

"The grave Turk wept when I left his shores. '*Allah izmar-ladek*' was his parting word; and the dervish chief poured water upon my road, and raised his hands to the Eternal to bless my ways. The Italian sparkled with the recollection of ancient greatness, and with the hope of a better future, in meeting me. The Frenchman raised the hymn of freedom, and a flash like the lightning passed over his brow when he chanted 'TREMBLE, YE TYRANTS!' and he looked like a prophet when he sang of 'HIM THE PERFIDIOUS! THE OPPROBRIUM OF OUR NATION.' At Marseilles a republican swam over the cold waves of the sea, to touch the hand of the exile, whom the star-spangled banner had restored to activity. England's gallant soldiers, watching on the rock of Gibraltar, thundered their hurras to heaven, when, in answer to their greeting, I drank them the toast, 'England and America: May their banners unite in the prosecution of the rights of humanity [tremendous cheers], and their swords be drawn in com-

mon for liberty and right' [cheers]; and when I stopped at Lisbon, that beautiful jewel on earth, the glowing Portuguese flamed with inspiration in welcoming me, and sobbed with emotion in bidding me farewell.

“And the people of England,—O! I cannot describe,—there was a revelation of the people's majesty in what I met there, as seldom yet was seen in history; and when the people came to me, hailing America, and speaking the praise of your Washington, and charged me to bring its brotherly greetings to the younger brother, so happy and so free [cheers], and to tell Brother Jonathan that the spirit of liberty is alive in old brother John Bull! [Tremendous cheering, and waving of hats.] Then England's people looked, indeed, like the embodiment of those words which King George the Third spoke to your John Adams, the first of independent American ambassadors to England, ‘Let the family ties of language, religion and blood, have their full and natural effect.’ [Cheers.]

“Yes, gentlemen, such were the manifestations with which I have embarked for America. I, in embarking, saw the tricolor flag of Hungary hoisted above my head to the top of an English mast, and heard it saluted from Southampton's batteries with a royal salute of farewell; and, on my arrival at New York, I heard it reëchoed with a full republican salute from the batteries of the United States, welcoming with the honors of the Union the tricolor flag of Hungary, floating over my head from an American mast; and every manifestation was a ray of hope more, and every cannon-shot an expectation more, roused in the hearts of Europe's millions. Four months have since passed; during those four months, my breast was a foaming bed of a continual ebb and tide of hope. Now my task is nearly done; some few days yet, and, in recrossing the Atlantic, I shall sit like the laborer on his plough, wiping off the sweat of my brow, and musing about the strange episode, never yet seen in mankind's history, that a stranger, the unassuming offspring of an Asiatic race transplanted to Europe, being a poor exile, had been borne on in triumph by popular sympathy, for his misfortunes' sake, as no crowned conqueror will be borne on for his successes' sake, in republican America; and, summing up the present and future results of these unprecedented popular manifestations, and combining them with the vital power of true principles, I will record the answer I shall have to tell, on the part of the people of America, to the expectations and hopes of Europe's millions; and, as I approach the east, I will look anxiously back towards the west, to mark if the galaxy

of American stars be rising from the new capital with the lustre of a new sun, and if the young eagle of America be towering on his gigantic wings, to watch from on high the arrogant movements of the bear of violence against bleeding mankind, sheltering itself beneath the laws of nature and nature's God.

“ Shall I see that eagle towering? Shall I see the glowing galaxy of American stars rising over the gloomy horizon of liberty? Then, what will be the tidings I shall have to bear, in answer to the expectations with which I was charged? Let me hope the answer will be fit to be reanswered by a mighty hallelujah, at the shout of which the thrones of tyrants will quake; and when they are fallen, and buried beneath the fallen pillars of tyranny, all the Christian world will unite in the song of praise, ‘Glory to God in heaven, and peace to good-willing men on earth, and honor to America, the first-born son of Liberty; for no nation has God done so much as her, for she proved to be well deserving of it, because she was obedient to his divine law. She has loved her neighbor as herself; and did unto others as she desired, in the hour of her need, others to do unto herself.’

“Gentlemen, I know what weight is due Massachusetts in the councils of the nation; the history, the character, the intelligence, the consistent energy, and the considerate perseverance, of your country, give me the security that, when the people of Massachusetts raises its voice and pronounces its will, that it is not like a girl's sigh that melts in the breeze,—it will carry its aim.

“I have seen this people's will in the manifestation of him whom the people's well-deserved confidence has raised to the helm of its executive government; I have seen it in the sanction of its senators; I have seen it in the mighty outburst of popular sentiments, and in the generous testimonials of its sympathy, as I progressed on this hallowed soil. I hope soon to see it in the legislative hall of your representatives, and in the Cradle of American Liberty.

“I hope to see it so, as I see it now, here, throbbing with warm, sincere, generous and powerful pulsation, in the very heart of your commonwealth. I know that, where the heart is sound, the whole body is sound, the blood is sound throughout all the veins. [Cheers.] The warmth of the heart of Massachusetts spreads with magnetic influence over my own sad heart; and, thanking God that all these manifestations of Massachusetts have been reserved to me for the later hours of my task, when the flush of excitement has passed, and calm reflection holds the ground,—I thank God for it, because upon such a man-

ifestation we can rely. There are principles in it like those of old, by which your fathers were inspired, when they took the lead in the struggle for freedom, never faltering, though many others despaired. The answer which I will bear to Europe is pointed out to me by the manifestations of Massachusetts. Accept my heartfelt thanks, in the name of my people, for it.

“Being the heart of Massachusetts, O, let me entreat you to be warm like the heart. Never believe to be right those who, bearing but a piece of metal in their chests, would persuade you that to be cold is to be wise. [Cheers.] Warmth is the vivifying influence of the universe, and the heart is the source of noble deeds. To consider calmly what you have to do is well. You have done it; you have done more,—you have let the thoughts of your mind pass through the warm tide of your heart, and that organ has nobly done its work, as the present day shows; but let me hope that the heart of Massachusetts will continue to throb warmly for the cause of liberty, till that which you judge to be right is done, with that persistent energy which, inherited from the Puritan Pilgrims of the Mayflower, is a principle with the people of Massachusetts. [Cheers.] Remember the afflicted,—farewell!”

Tremendous cheering, continued for several minutes after the conclusion of this speech, testified the strong impression which it made upon the hearers. It was, in fact, delivered throughout with the most admirable grace and animation. Kossuth was well aware of the high character and intelligence of the people of Worcester county, of their steadfast devotion to the principles of freedom; and, feeling sure of his audience, could put forth without restraint his utmost powers of oratory. The effect was in some instances very striking. On the platform near him there were some veteran politicians, who, though opposed to his doctrines, could not refrain from tears at certain passages of his speech.

From the platform on the Common, Kossuth was escorted to his quarters at the American House, followed by a dense crowd, who repeatedly cheered him as he passed along. He reached the hotel a few minutes before seven o'clock, where he supped and gained a little repose.

At about eight o'clock he was waited upon to the City Hall, where a dense and most enthusiastic audience assembled to listen to another address from him.

Up to eight o'clock, admission to the hall was limited to those who presented a Hungarian bond at the door, by which means a large number were disposed of.

At eight o'clock, the state committee, the city government, and the committee of arrangements, entered the hall with Kossuth, who was received with loud and prolonged cheers, waving of ladies' handkerchiefs and gentlemen's hats, and other demonstrations of the most hearty and enthusiastic sympathy. The crowds that had been waiting outside for his arrival came rushing into the hall, until the great area and galleries presented one unbroken sea of eager, intelligent and sympathetic faces.

General Day called the meeting to order, and introduced Hon. Henry Chapin, ex-mayor of the city, who came forward, amid the loud cheering of the people, and said:

“FELLOW-CITIZENS: We come to-night as freemen to pay our tribute of respect to the great advocate of popular liberty. The sons and daughters of the Pilgrims hasten to honor the man who has dared to vindicate in a foreign land the principles which the Pilgrims fled to establish here. Educated in the spirit of the Declaration of Independence, honoring with our whole souls the men who pledged their ‘lives,’ their ‘fortunes,’ and their ‘sacred honor,’ for liberty, we but speak out the gushing sentiments of our hearts when we pay our homage to those who have sacrificed everything but honor for the freedom of their race.

“We watched the progress of the Hungarian revolution with deep and thrilling interest. We saw that brave and patriotic people, animated by a common enthusiasm, struggling against the combined powers of Russia and Austria, performing prodigies of valor, and driving the despots back, until treason did its shameful work, and Hungary was in the dust. We have seen those friends of freedom either in chains and slavery at home, or driven into lonely exile away from their country and their firesides; and while we have sat under the tree of Liberty which our fathers planted in blood and in tears, our hearts have swollen with emotions of sympathy for our brethren across the wide Atlantic, who, engaged in a contest as pure and noble as our own Revolution, have as yet found a destiny so different from ours.

“In that great struggle for liberty in Hungary, one man stood forth preëminent. In the appeals to the Hungarian people, there was heard the voice of one man rousing the masses of his countrymen with the

magic of a mysterious eloquence. In exile, captivity and sorrow, the form of one man has been surrounded by a halo of glory; one whom even the Turkish monarch has dared to protect, against the indignant protests of tyranny; one over whom the stars and stripes of our country have been proud to wave in triumph, and to whom the gathering thousands and tens of thousands of the American people rejoice to show the reverence which is due to the great and good. That man is Louis Kossuth; that man is the guest of this evening!

“Honored Sir: A committee raised at a large and enthusiastic meeting of our citizens, we bid you an earnest and a heartfelt welcome. We welcome you to New England, the land of free schools, free thought, free speech, and free men. We welcome you to Massachusetts, the home of Warren, and Adams, and Hancock, and Otis. We welcome you to the state which boasts of Concord, and Lexington, and Bunker Hill. Especially we welcome you to this Heart of the Commonwealth, this home of well-paid labor, this paradise of mechanics, where the songs of freedom and the hum of cheerful industry mingle sweetly together, and where thousands of the hardy sovereigns of the country pay their glad homage to your glorious name! Here, at least, you stand in the midst of friends. Strong arms and warm hearts are around you. Party, sect and creed, vanish for the moment, like the baseless fabric of a dream. The old and the young, the rich and the poor, the learned and the ignorant, all catch the inspiration of the hour, and hail you with a patriotic welcome. In the humblest dwelling amongst us your name and history are as familiar as household words. From every Christian fireside prayers have ascended for you and your unhappy country; and I feel that I express the real sentiments of our people, in the wish that the hour may soon come when your father-land shall break the yoke of the oppressor, and you be restored to the position which the advocates of freedom and progress and popular liberty, the world over, have unanimously awarded to you.

“I will detain this waiting assembly no longer by remarks of mine, but will introduce to them Louis Kossuth, the rightful Governor of Hungary.”

Mr. Chapin sat down amidst thunders of applause. Kossuth then rose, when Gen. Day, waving his baton over his head, cried, “Fellow-citizens, nine cheers for Kossuth and Hungary!” These were given with a will and power that made the hall tremble. They were caught up by the people who filled the streets outside, the sound of whose

shouting again called forth the cheers of those within. When silence was restored, Kossuth said, turning to Mr. Chapin :

“I would have been very glad, sir, if you had been pleased, not, as you have said, to detain your fellow-citizens, but if you had been pleased to continue to express the warm, gushing, generous sympathies of their hearts, with your eloquent lips. You are a son of Massachusetts ; you understand the feelings of your brethren, now assembled to welcome me, a poor exile, to your city ; and to me nothing can be more grateful than to listen to the expression of that generous and spontaneous sympathy. I am a stranger to their feelings, speaking in a foreign tongue ; and therefore I cannot address them in a manner that will gratify and interest them.

“I hope the gentlemen will excuse me, if, from my fatigue, and humble abilities, I am not able to address them as I could wish. I have, however, the sense of duty strong in my breast ; and I will never shrink, nor be too tired to attempt what duty calls upon me to perform. [Loud cheers.]

“O ! would that I could speak to you in my own native tongue ! Then would I speak to you as I used to speak to my people. There is so much to remind me of my old home in all I now see and hear around me ! There I was wont to meet such a people as you. I never was conscious of deserving a reputation for eloquence ; I never felt that to me belonged the magic powers of oratory ; but, with such a people cheering me, I may have sometimes received the inspiration of eloquence ; for there is always eloquence in a noble people’s sympathy.

“ You have been pleased to say, sir, that in the struggle of Hungary with the leagued despots of Austria and Russia one man stood preëminent. But I must be just to myself and to my countrymen ; and justice compels me to declare that in that struggle there was no preëminence. In sacrifices for the cause of Hungary, and in the devotion to the principles of freedom, there was no preëminence amongst individual men. In the whole course of that glorious but fatal contest, the people stood preëminent. O, had you seen the demigods of Hungary, as they died with the smiles upon their lips for the father-land, then you would have said there was no preëminence, but a common devotion in yielding up all for liberty !

“There was a time, in the history of mankind, when, by being in its childhood or infancy, a nation’s progress and prosperity depended upon *men* ; when the events of history were controlled by the wishes and

acts of persons ; when the whole of humanity was absorbed in individualities ; but, thank God, that time will never come again ! The progress of civilization has rendered impossible such fatal dependencies. The general diffusion of ideas and principles has rescued humanity from such precarious dependencies. Nations are now dependent upon principles, not upon men. It has been said to me, by one of your eloquent fellow-citizens, that the people of Massachusetts never pay any tribute to men, but to principles ; and thus it is that I, a humble exile, meet with such a welcome as I have met to-day. [Cheers.]

“ You have been pleased to say, sir, that I am among friends. Thank God for that word ! for to me, a homeless exile, there is now no consolation equal to that of friendship. But you are not friends for my sake, but for my country’s cause ; and O, let me assure you that my countrymen are worthy of your friendship. [Loud cheers.]

“ Gentlemen, in coming to your city, this heart of your good old commonwealth, I have observed that on your hills, and in your valleys, there still remains a little snow. Well, it is curious to observe what a sympathy exists between the physical and moral worlds. In warm climates, you will notice that vegetation is always in activity, and plants spring up with rapidity ; but, if a little chill comes, their delicate leaves are nipped, and they wither away. So, in those climates, men act from warm impulses, that soon pass away with the circumstance that excited them ; whereas, where snow exists,—for snow, you know, is not the emblem of coldness, but is necessary to conserve and invigorate the soil for a good harvest,—it not only vivifies the seed, but ripens it. That snow in the moral world conserves the warmth of the heart ; and such a warmth you have shown me in your snowy climate as I never wish to see exceeded. I have seen so much considerate warmth here as will enable me to say to my poor, suffering countrymen, that I have seen a people representing the principle of republican liberty in opposition to the principle of despotism, represented by Czars, trampling on freedom, and absorbing nationalities.

“ If you look to history, you will see that at no period of time have the two conditions of nationality — those of republicanism and despotism — been brought to such a crisis as now ; and a short time is to decide which must prevail. You cannot remain indifferent to the struggle which is now trembling to an issue, in Europe, between those two conditions. Your position and interest, as one of the great nationalities of the world, will force you to participate in this struggle.

“ You will be constrained either to forsake the position of a power on

earth, or to conserve the law of nations, which is the common property of nations. When I ask you to proclaim the principles of international law, I do not ask you to adopt a new principle or a new line of policy ; I only ask you to reiterate the principles and policy expressed by John Quincy Adams, in reference to the Argentine Republics, when the holy alliance of despots had made preparations to crush those infant nationalities.

“ He said that the United States must take counsel of her duties and interests in relation to the acts of the despots towards those states. Did that bold course entangle you in foreign alliances and war ? No ! it rather prevented war. The bold declaration of a true principle is never so likely to entangle you in war as the passive abnegation of your position as a power on earth. I have never, in the brightest moments of my expectations and hopes, wanted the United States to do anything against her interests. All I have wanted is the declaration of a principle which is embodied in her history, and in her very existence as a nation and a power on earth. Every American with whom I have conversed in his private capacity has declared that he is convinced that every nation has a right to choose its own government, and no foreign nation has a right to interfere with the fullest freedom of that choice ; and all I ask of the United States, which is only the aggregation of individualities, is to express this conviction to the world. [Cheers.] We do not want America to fight our battles. We will fight our own battles. [Loud cheers.] We have hearts and hands of our own, to defend our rights, and beat back our enemies. [Loud cheers.] What we want is to be assured that, as certain as there is a God in heaven who watches the destinies of the universe, so is there a mighty nation on earth which watches the laws of nations and of Nature’s God. [Loud cheers.]

“ Gentlemen, I have seen in your streets to-day two flags ; one bearing the superscription ‘ Terror to Tyrants, Liberty to the World.’ Let me entreat you, gentlemen, to make that superscription not only a sentiment, but a fact. [Enthusiastic cheers.] I have the instinctive consciousness that the destiny of that American flag is ‘ Death to Tyranny, Liberty to the World.’ [Renewed cheering.] The second flag, which I saw on the common, was the flag of America, waving proudly over the poor little flag of Hungary. Make the philosophy of those flags — the prophecy of them, also — a fact ! Let the flag of your country wave protectingly over my nation’s cause ! [Cheers.] I thank you, gentlemen, from the very heart of my heart, for the welcome you

have given me this day; and I hope that, ere long, Europe will prove to you that your sympathy has not been bestowed unworthily, and will prove, also, that the voice of the people is sometimes the thunders of the Almighty." [Prolonged cheering.]

At the conclusion of Kossuth's remarks, Mr. J. L. Myers, in behalf of the German citizens, delivered the following address in that language :

"GOVERNOR KOSSUTH : We are hardly able to express our joy that circumstances permit us to welcome you, the true apostle of liberty and human rights, in behalf of the German residents of this city. We need not say with what sympathy and anxiety we looked to the far East, where you and your heroic people fought, not only for the liberty of Hungary, but for the liberties of the whole human race; where you alone appeared as the defender of liberty and law, against the perjurious Hapsburgs and the cunning Northern Bear, who united their efforts to crush the God-given rights of man.

"No body of men has more cause to sympathize with the cause of Hungary than the Germans. No body of men has more cause to mourn for the fall of Hungary. But we do not despair. While Kossuth lives, we feel that the cause of Hungary is not lost. While Kossuth lives, there lives in him, and with him, the inspiring hope that the down-trodden rights of the European people shall see a glorious resurrection, and will find a true defender.

"It now seems as if the cause of liberty had been lost, through treachery and misfortune. But the people will again rise, with renovated strength, for a new trial; and they will again try to throw off the yoke of despotism; and, with the help of God, and you to lead them, they shall succeed!

"Continue, Mr. Governor, to teach the people the true principles of self-government, instruct them in the sacred principles of liberty, and you will find strong arms and valiant hearts, in every quarter of the world, to assist you in the great work you now so nobly prosecute, that of raising up the down-trodden human race.

"Mr. Governor, accept this token of our regard for your cause. It was collected from the few Germans residing in this city. The sum is small, but you will receive it as an earnest of our will, which we heartily wish was equalled by our ability. But we will not trouble you more with words. We will only say, 'Long live Kossuth!' May you

enjoy the fruits of your eventful life, under the institutions of republican freedom, in your own land; and may you also enjoy the quiet of domestic life in the bosom of your own family, all reunited and protected by law!"

The purse presented to Kossuth by the speaker contained the sum of thirty-five dollars, in gold.

When Mr. Myers had finished his address, and presented the purse, Kossuth said, in reply, in the German language the substance of which we translate,—

"My friend, I am worn out and heavy from travelling and speaking, and cannot therefore reply to you with my lips what my heart dictates. But, before we part, I only want to express to you two things. First, I am not the great man which you suppose me to be. Every man is called upon to perform certain duties, and he ought to fulfil them; and, if he performs them well, he only does his duty. I have only tried to fulfil my mission to the best of my ability; and therefore I do not deserve the reverence which you have been pleased to accord me. Secondly, I have received great sympathy from Americans, during my progress in this country; and I have found, to my great joy and consolation, that the Germans have never been behind them in heartfelt generosity and sympathy for my country,—for her cause was theirs. Again I thank you, in the name of my country."

A young Hungarian, who came to America with Kossuth, and is now working in one of the machine-shops of Worcester, presented his chief with an ingeniously made sword-cane. Kossuth kindly stroked the young man's cheeks, shook him cordially by the hand, and spoke words of encouragement to him in his native tongue. He said he was glad to see his countrymen exercising their skill here. But, as to that instrument, it was not such as he would employ in the coming struggle, because that was made for wounding foes in the back, and he liked to meet his, face to face.

The audience now called for Mr. Hopkins, who made a few remarks, which were warmly received. Mr. Burlingame was then called up, and spoke as follows.

MR. BURLINGAME'S SPEECH.

"FELLOW-CITIZENS: I have no words with which to express those emotions of sympathy with which our breasts are now swelling; and if I should give them voice, I fear, with my friend who has just now

taken his seat, that I should not know when or where to end. It is charged by some that we propose to change the policy which, they say, was established by the great and good Washington. It is not true. If what they *claim* as that policy be indeed the policy of Washington, then do we desire to change it. If it be one which is to silence us forever in the councils of the nations, and seal our lips before the world, then I care not by whom it was initiated, or when or how long it has stood, or by what persons it is now maintained,—it is a policy unworthy of a great and free people. [Applause.] But it is not as they claim;—*that* policy was for the exigency of those early times. Why, a nation can have no such thing as a fixed policy. It must have fixed *principles*. The eloquent speaker has told us that policy is one thing, and principle quite another thing. One takes its hue and form from the passing hour; the other is eternal, and may not be departed from with safety. It is because statesmen have failed to make this distinction that they have gone down under their errors. They have raised that which was ephemeral into the dignity of a principle, and clung to it long after it had become obsolete. Let us not wrong our fathers by believing they intended to chain this nation to the cradle of its infancy. Washington himself has told us that his was a temporary policy, suited to the requirements of the time, but not intended to stand as our guide through all eternity. And, standing in the midst of that stormy present, and having in memory the bleeding past, and looking into the gloom of what seemed a sinister future, he fixed the time when he thought that policy would expire. Yes, with no foreknowledge of what would be the immense and rapid strides of this mighty people, he thought, and said, that in twenty years it might have the full command of its own fortunes.

“And O, the difference between then and now! The nation was scarred with war, poor, an hundred millions in debt,—not so rich as is our own Massachusetts to-day,—scarcely more populous than is now the Empire State,—with the whole west about to blaze with battle-fires,—party spirit aroused, society unformed, the government untried, friendless on sea and on land,—a wilderness everywhere, the states but just climbing with feeble step the Atlantic slope, so that from Maine to Georgia the wolf’s long howl was answered back by the Atlantic’s roar. [Applause.] In such a state of things the policy of neutrality found its sufficient justification. But now, when the republic has expanded from sea to sea, when its flag is advancing to the north and the south, when the beautiful white wings of its commerce are flutter-

ing in every quarter of the globe, and bringing home wealth and victory with all the winds of heaven [applause], shall we so wrong the memory of the brave men who cleared the way for these glories,—Washington, who sought peace through war, Franklin, who subdued thunder and tyranny, and John Adams, out of whose head came the Revolution,—so wrong these men, I say, as to believe that, if they could once more visit the land their valor freed, that they would tell us to trail our banners over the sea and over the land, and let them no longer stream along the shores of the Baltic and the Mediterranean, symbols of unconquered liberty in the western world? No, no! they gave their breasts to the battle, they struggled through nameless woes, for a place on earth, and that their sons might have ‘power on earth’ to be wielded for liberty on whatever doubtful field it might strive. [Applause.] And would they not indignantly ask who gave instructions to Commodore Morgan, of the Mediterranean squadron, under which he should dare to issue those orders by which our gallant officers and seamen are not permitted, not only not to talk politics with the Neapolitans, or the people in whose waters they may chance to be, but are not allowed to discuss them with each other on the shore, or on an American deck? Who gave *him* authority over the religious or political sentiments of an American officer or sailor? Is it not enough for him that he does his duty under the laws? Why, if we cannot maintain our relations with those people without subjecting our glorious sailors to such tyranny, I would not let our vessels cast their anchors in their waters; no, not though a hurricane blew, save to batter down the walls of their tyrannical cities! [Applause.]

“Who did not feel his cheek crimson with indignation as he learned to what position our brave officers of the Mississippi were constrained by these orders? And more, when he learned of the conduct of the American consul at Marseilles? Where, I ask, did *he* get his right to wound the feelings of the nation’s guest on an American deck? Who placed that official under the direction of a miserable French prefect, himself the tool of a man who, at that very time, had perjury on his lips and treason in his heart? [Applause.] The great exile should have found kindness under our flag. It was not his fault, but his glory, that his presence awakened the republican heart of France; our flag, had it been a true symbol of the principles we profess, would have done the same. It is a grievous, burning shame, that Kossuth, when the songs of liberty were rising around him, and the peaceful shouts of the people, should have been commanded to retire from what his noble presence inspired. What American, proud of his country’s honor, would not

have preferred that the Mississippi, with the banner of our hopes floating aloft, should have gone down by her anchors, fighting some great battle of liberty, her scuppers running blood, rather than that the nation's guest — guest for such a cause — should not have found the fullest protection under a flag which once waved over Perry, and McDonough, and Lawrence, and Hull, and Decatur?" [Great applause.]

Mr. Burlingame was warmly applauded throughout; and, when he sat down, Hon. E. H. Kellogg, of Pittsfield, was called for, and spoke as follows :

“ I pray you, Mr. Chairman, and I pray you, this immense meeting of my fellow-citizens, not to expect from me, called up here as I am, one-half so full and so satisfactory an expression of the feeling that prevails in our hearts here, as we have already had. I rejoice, sir, that, under the force of the example of our illustrious guest, and under the force of your own teachings, that here, to-night, sect and creed and party are all submerged and drowned in the mighty flood of feeling and of sympathy extended to the man who is the representative of a well-deserving country,—that country whose liberties, before all our eyes, have been cloven down against the law of nations. Fellow-citizens, I could not, to-day, help rejoicing, when I heard our illustrious friend here depicting to these great multitudes the wrongs of his country, and bespeaking here the sympathies of his fellow-men,—I say, I could not but rejoice that there was still upon the face of this earth a great orator devoted to liberty; that he, the martyr of his cause, bruised and torn in all but his undying love of liberty, can march with triumphant step from one ocean to the other, hailed as the friend of liberty by a whole nation. Sir, if we cannot go with our arms to Hungary, and fight the Russians, we may, at least, thank God! extend our sympathy to the cause of liberty; and we trust that you bless God that you have this expanded field on his earth where you can preach its cause. Let me assure you, sir, that your life is not in vain. If God should see fit to take you to-day from your family, from your own dear father-land, from the world, and leave the Hungarians weeping, like the children of Israel by the waters of Babylon, for seventy years, you would not, even then, have lived in vain. No, sir; you have taught us a lesson in this part of the world, you have taught the whole world a lesson, that will not be soon forgotten; and whenever any other nation in the world shall assert the principle so beloved by you, and by the whole

American heart,—the very same principle to which Hungary is devoted,—I say, when such a nation shall arise again in its might, and achieve its freedom, that before another Russian Czar can interfere with its liberties, you will hear the voice of America in a way that will be emphatic [applause], — in a way that will be useful, efficient. May God grant it!

“Fellow-citizens of Worcester, of the heart of the old Bay State, there is cause for this mighty outpouring, this fiery impulse of sympathy, that pervades all our breasts. O! fellow-men, suppose our own George Washington — our own Revolutionary Kossuth — had not been successful in our struggle,— suppose he had been beaten down by treachery that lived with us, or by the intervention of a power more tyrannical even than England,— and suppose he had been hunted in order to put a halter round his neck, where in the wide world,— O, where, seventy-five years ago, could Washington have gone, and been received and protected by a whole nation? Yes, and sent home to oppose his country’s enemies again, followed by the sympathy, the warm hopes, and the bright anticipations, of twenty millions of freemen? I congratulate our illustrious friend and guest that he lives in a different hour of the world. I have no doubt he is thankful to God for it. I believe that the feeling he is awakening in this country, although it may not take that direction he has pointed out to an extreme or unsafe distance, — to a returnless distance,— yet I believe, fellow-citizens, that it will work good, not only for his own country, but for the other struggling countries of Europe. I have great faith in the mighty power, the thunder, as he well terms it, of American public opinion. Notwithstanding many tell us our protestations will be like the idle wind, unheeded, who, fellow-citizens, who knows better than Governor Kossuth that the Emperor Nicholas watches as closely as any eye in the world (except God’s) the movements that follow in the train of his progress — the movements of public opinion that follow him in this country and elsewhere? He knows that it is a mighty agent. He knows that our illustrious guest is fighting and winning a mightier battle, by gaining millions of devotees to his cause, than any that was fought and won during the Hungarian war. He is, through the press, spreading an intelligent spirit through the oppressed millions of Europe. He is informing the bayonets of the common soldiery; and you will see them, when the crisis comes, breaking through the trammels of those dynasties of Europe, and arraying themselves in defence of the liberties of the people.” [Cheers.]

After a few words by Mr. Keyes, the meeting closed, at ten o’clock.

KOSSUTH'S ENTRY INTO BOSTON.

KOSSUTH and his suite, with the Legislative Committee, left Worcester in a special train, at half-past nine o'clock, on Tuesday morning, April 27. It was a coincidence not overlooked or unfelt by many of those with him, and assuredly not by himself, that the day fixed upon for his triumphal entry into the proud and famous metropolis of New England was his birth-day,—the day on which he completed his fiftieth year.

He was greeted with many cheers, as he left Worcester. The car in which he sat was thickly festooned with American, English and Hungarian flags. Previous to leaving, he received a purse of fifty dollars from Hon. Alexander De Witt.

At Westboro' the cars stopped, the bells were rung, a great concourse collected, and Rev. Mr. Gage, in behalf of the townsmen, presented Kossuth with forty dollars. He replied briefly, and was loudly cheered.

At Framingham another stop was made, and a large crowd assembled. Hon. Joseph Fuller welcomed Kossuth to the county of Middlesex, which contained Lexington, Concord, and Bunker Hill. Kossuth expressed his thanks in a few words.

At Natick the train stopped, and Kossuth was presented with a purse containing sixty-two dollars, by Mr. Ham, the chairman of the selectmen of the town.

At the Brookline crossing Kossuth was received by the Light Dragoons, who had been detailed as his escort through Brookline and Roxbury. Carriages being in readiness, a procession was formed, under the direction of Benj. Stevens, Sergeant at Arms of the Legislature, and the route of march for Boston, through Brookline and Roxbury, was immediately taken up.

Kossuth, accompanied by M. Pulszky, Hon. N. P. Banks, Hon. Anson Burlingame, and Austin Williams, Esq., governor's aid, occupied the first carriage. In the second carriage were the ladies of Kossuth's suite, his wife, and Madame Pulszky, accompanied by the wife of Hon. E. L. Keyes, and by the Sergeant at Arms. In the carriages that followed were the other members of Kossuth's suite, the Legislative

Committee, some members of the city government of Worcester, and others.

A short distance from the crossing the procession passed under an arch bearing the words, "WELCOME, KOSSUTH."

The road was choked up with foot-people, horsemen and carriages, of all descriptions, each and all anxious to get a sight of the Magyar. At Brookline a large crowd was collected; and, when the carriage containing Kossuth arrived, lusty cheers were given, which were acknowledged gracefully.

On the whole route to Roxbury line, the windows were full of ladies, who waved their welcome with their handkerchiefs, and the streets were literally crammed with people. The cortege did not stop in Roxbury, but proceeded on until it had reached the military, who were drawn up on the Neck, to the number of thirty-four companies.

Having passed the military, the procession halted, when the troops wheeled into line, and escorted the procession through the city. The procession passed through Washington, Boylston, Charles and Beacon streets, to the state-house. The crowd in these streets was very great. The windows were all full of women and children, and Kossuth was frequently called to his feet, to acknowledge the plaudits of the ladies.

The military marched in the following order :

Fifth Regiment of Artillery, under command of Col. Cowdin.

- Company C — Washington Artillery, Captain Bulloch.
- Company A — Boston Artillery, Captain T. H. Evans.
- Company D — Roxbury Artillery, Captain Webber.
- Company B — Columbian Artillery, Captain Thompson.

First Regiment of Light Infantry, under command of Colonel C. L. Holbrook.

- Company D — Boston Light Guard, Captain Clark, Jr.
- Company C — Pulaski Guards, Captain Wright.
- Company L — National Guards, Captain Moore.
- Company B — New England Guards, Captain Henshaw.
- Company F — Independent Boston Fusileers, Captain Mitchell.
- Company M — Warren Light Infantry, Lieut. Hall.
- Company H — Winthrop Light Guards, Lieut. Moore.
- Company G — Washington Light Guards, Captain Savory.
- Company E — City Guards, Captain French.
- Company A — Boston Light Infantry, Captain Ashley.

Fifth Regiment of Infantry, under command of Col. Watson.

Company C — Lowell Mechanic Phalanx, Captain Palmer.

Company C — Worcester City Guards, Captain Goodhue, Eighth Regiment.

Company B — Fitchburg Fusileers, Captain Wood, Fourth Regiment.

Company G — Woburn Phalanx, Captain Grummer, Fourth Regiment.

Company C — Cambridge City Guards, Captain Meacham, Fourth Regiment.

Company D — National Blues (Lowell), Captain Lesure, Fifth Regiment.

Company H — Wamesit Light Guard, Captain Sargent, Fifth Regiment.

Company E — Davis Guard (Acton), Capt. Jones, Fifth Regiment.

Company D — Charlestown City Guards, Captain Sawyer, Fourth Regiment.

Company B — Worcester Light Infantry, Captain Lamb, Eighth Regiment.

Ninth Regiment of Infantry, under command of Col. Colburn.

Company D — Westminster Guards, Captain Whitman, Seventh Regiment.

Company A — Halifax Light Infantry, Captain Thompson, Third Regiment.

Company A — Winchester Guards, Captain Prince, Seventh Regiment.

Company D — Richardson Light Guards, Captain Wiley, Seventh Regiment.

Company C — Marblehead Light Infantry, Captain Gregory, Sixth Regiment.

Company I — Lawrence Light Infantry, Captain Wilkins, Seventh Regiment.

Company C — Stoneham Light Infantry, Captain Dike, Seventh Regiment.

Company E — Oakdale Light Infantry, Captain Hosmer, Eighth Regiment.

Company B — Salem Mechanic Light Infantry, Captain White, Sixth Regiment.

Mechanic Riflemen, Captain Adams.

The tokens of gladness and welcome along the route were frequent, and spoke a sincere feeling. From many a window peeped out the words, "Welcome, Kossuth." Flags were flying at many places, and ever and anon the Hungarian tricolor waved its welcome to him whose patriotic soul and powerful mind sent it to so many victories. Among the buildings decorated were the Albion hotel, which was dressed in beautiful taste, with a triumphal arch between the two portions of the hotel, bearing the inscription,

"Columbia, the Land of Liberty."

The Revere House had floating over it the three flags of Hungary, Turkey and the United States.

The state-house was superbly decorated with banners, arches and mottoes, in such profusion as almost to hide it from sight. The entrance gate was surmounted by an arch, bearing on its front the following inscription: "WASHINGTON AND KOSSUTH,—THE OCCIDENT AND THE ORIENT." On the reverse: "WASHINGTON, THE FRIEND OF LIBERTY; KOSSUTH, THE FOE OF DESPOTISM."

On the steps leading to the state-house were placed two arches, and between them the platform on which the reception speeches were made. The first of these arches bore the following motto on its front: "RELIGION, EDUCATION, FREEDOM: A TRICOLOR FOR THE WORLD." On the reverse: "MASSACHUSETTS, THE SPIRIT OF 1776,—LEXINGTON, CONCORD, BUNKER HILL."

The second arch was exceedingly beautiful; the pillars being entwined with the tricolor, white, red and blue. Underneath were suspended three magnificent wreaths, the whole tastefully entwined with evergreen. This arch bore the following: "REMEMBER THERE IS A COMMUNITY IN THE DESTINY OF HUMANITY."

On the key-stone was a beautiful display of flags of all nations, furled.

The columns of the upper piazza were wreathed with tricolor, and the state motto stretched across: "ENSE PETIT PLACIDAM SUB LIBERTATE QUIETEM."

In the portico fronting the Representatives' hall was an equestrian figure on a pedestal, underneath which were the words: "WASHINGTON, THE FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY."

Over the portico in large capitals were the following: "GOVERNOR KOSSUTH, WELCOME TO THE CAPITOL OF MASSACHUSETTS."

From the cupola flags and streamers waved in the breeze, and from

the corners of the state-house to the corners of the grounds in front flags of different nations were suspended.

The arrangement of these flags was as follows :

From the state-house to Mount Vernon-street,— American, English, Greek, Egyptian.

Outer line to Beacon-street,— American, English, French, Turkish, Brazilian, Neapolitan, Portuguese, Peruvian.

Inner line to Beacon-street,— American, Columbian, Austrian, Montevidean, Neapolitan, Spanish, Mexican, Turkish.

State-house to Hancock avenue,— American, English, Austrian, Brazilian.

State-house to outer corner of the avenue, on Beacon-street,— American, English, Turkish, Neapolitan, Dutch, Buenos Ayrean, Columbian, Portuguese.

Inner line, same line,— American, English, Tunisian, Papal, Mexican, Greek, Buenos Ayrean.

On the right of the gateway,— American, Swedish, Danish, Chilian, Peruvian.

Left of gate,— American, St. George's Cross, Dutch, Chinese, Sardinian.

Beacon to Park street,— New Grenada, Naples, Chilian, Peruvian, Greek, Rayah.

Beacon to Common,— Spanish, Montevidean, miscellaneous, Unicorn, Spanish broad pennant.

At half past one o'clock, after a progress of two hours and a half, through six miles of shouting multitudes, Kossuth was conducted by Gen. Wilson, chairman of the Legislative Committee, up the steps of the state-house to the platform, where he met Governor Boutwell and the members of the Council. Governor Boutwell welcomed him to the state in the following speech :

GOVERNOR BOUTWELL'S SPEECH.

“ GOVERNOR KOSSUTH : As the voice of the Legislature and people of Massachusetts, I welcome you to this capitol to-day.

“ Your presence brings before us our own past, bitter in its experience, but glorious in its history. We once had apostles of liberty on whose heads a price was set, who were hunted by tyranny from their homes, and threatened with expulsion from civilized life. That day of oppression and anxiety with us is ended. It introduced a contest for

human rights, whose results on this continent you have seen, in the extent, character and power, of the American republic.

“The people of Massachusetts, inspired by their early history, and animated by the impulses of their hearts, greet you as one who has nobly served and suffered in the cause of individual freedom and the rights of states. Nor will their admiration be limited by any consideration arising from the fate of your country, or the failure of the patriotic hopes with which it was inspired. Liberty can never die. The generations of men appear and pass away, but the principles and aspirations of their nature are immortal.

“Despotism is of time. It contains within itself the elements and the necessity of decay and death. Fifty years of your eventful life are past; but take courage, sir, in the belief that, in the providence of God, the moment is near when the light of freedom shall penetrate the darkness of European despotism. Then shall your own Hungary welcome you to her fields and mountains, to her homes and heart; and we will welcome Hungary to the family of republican, constitutional, sovereign states.

“In the name of the people, I tender to you the hospitalities of a commonwealth founded by Exiles and Pilgrims.”

To this cordial welcome to the capitol of Massachusetts, Kossuth replied as follows :

“I feel deeply sensible of the immense benefit which a happy and prosperous people has conferred upon an unfortunate people. Moments like the present can only be felt, not spoken. I feel a deep emotion, sir. I am not ashamed of it. Allow me only to say that, in taking that hand, the hand of the people of Massachusetts, and having listened in your voice to the sentiments and feelings of the people of Massachusetts, I indeed cannot forbear to believe that humanity has arrived to a great turning point in its destinies, because such a sight was never yet seen on earth.

“Conquerors, triumphant and proud of success, confer honors and glory on a poor exile, having nothing to speak for him but his misfortunes.

“Sir, the spirit of liberty is lasting; liberty cannot die, because it has become the common sentiment of all humanity. The spirit of liberty takes itself wings,—you are happy to be the first-born son of that spirit; but we accept our condition just to be one of its martyrs;

and I look with hope, I look with confidence, into the future, because that spirit which prepared for the poor exile the present day will be recorded in the records of history, and will mark the destiny of coming centuries. I cannot speak further. I am proud to have your hands in mine.

“And be sure, sir, and let your generous people be sure of it, that, whatever be our future destiny, we shall never, in our struggles and misfortunes and adversities, we shall never forget the generous Governor of Massachusetts, and the generous people of Massachusetts, and they shall never have reason to regret that we have been honored in this immense nation. God Almighty bless you, sir, and bless you all!

“I take these honors proudly, because I take them not for myself, but in the name of my people, in whose name I express my most humble, my eternal thanks.”

After this speech, Kossuth was introduced to several official persons, and then the procession was re-formed, and marching through Park, Tremont, Court, State, Commercial, South Market streets, to Merchants-row, Ann, Blackstone, Hanover and Court streets, reached the Revere House about half-past two o'clock. Here a collation was in readiness for the party.

In the afternoon Kossuth reviewed the troops on the Common. The lines were drawn as usual at the foot of the Common, and the surrounding hills were covered with the assembled thousands, like vast swarms of human bees.

The members of the Legislature and Council moved in procession from the state-house, and took a position on the side hill within the lines, in front of the military. After the troops had been drawn up in line on three sides of the field, Kossuth, mounted on a fine Arabian charger, and accompanied by Governor Boutwell on an elegant cream-colored steed, appeared on the field, and was greeted by the thunders of the artillery. Attended by General Edmands and staff, they rode leisurely in front of the line; and then, passing around in the rear, took position in the centre, when the great Hungarian received the salute of the companies, as they marched by.

The review was a very imposing pageant, and was witnessed by fifty thousand spectators. Including the Light Dragoons, some one thousand six hundred of the volunteer militia were in the field. The variety of the glittering uniforms, the brilliant glancing to and fro of the several staffs, the cortege of the governor and foreign guest, together

with the multitudes who lined the hills and streets around the field, presented altogether a spectacle not often surpassed in this country.

The ceremonies on the Common lasted until sunset. On their conclusion, Kossuth was escorted back to the Revere House by the Light Dragoons, and the governor by the Cadets to the state-house.

The day was remarkably pleasant, and many strangers were in town to witness the proceedings. Notwithstanding the crowded state of the streets, but few accidents occurred.

In the evening Kossuth dined at the Revere House, as the guest of the Legislative Committee. The entertainment was private, and there was no report of the proceedings.

At night there was quite a display of fireworks in front of the Revere House, and a large number of persons were collected in Bowdoin-square. In answer to their cheers, Kossuth appeared at his parlor window, and acknowledged the compliment by bowing, but did not speak.

KOSSUTH AT THE STATE-HOUSE.

At eleven o'clock, Wednesday morning, April 28th, Kossuth left the Revere House, and, escorted by the Independent Cadets, proceeded through streets thronged with a dense and excited multitude, to the state-house. He first visited the Council-chamber, to pay his respects to the Governor of Massachusetts. The meeting was not witnessed by any reporters, and only a sketch of what occurred can be given.

Governor Boutwell addressed Kossuth briefly, but an important thought was embodied in these brief remarks. He welcomed Kossuth to the Council-chamber of the executive government of Massachusetts, not only as a representative of freedom in Europe and an advocate of republicanism for her people, but as a man whose efforts were important to America — whose mission had been the means of imparting important instruction to the people of the United States.

Kossuth, in response, said these remarks from his Excellency, in the place where he made them, added a new and very important benefit to the many he had received in the United States as an advocate for national independence. He would be ashamed to claim that, pleading his country's wrongs and asserting her rights, his efforts had instructed the people of America upon the nature and greatness of their own institutions, or the great blessings of their freedom; but, if the princi-

ples he advocated had been extended by means of the press in the United States, which had everywhere reported his speeches, and any instruction for liberty had been derived from them, it was only because there was community in liberty; and it was a necessity for the agitation of liberty in one part of the world to benefit all other parts where the rights of man were respected. He proceeded to speak of the great necessity of the agitation of liberal principles, that the people of the world might learn practically to hate despotism; and then he thanked the Governor and Council for the high honor conferred upon him in the name of liberty.

At the conclusion of his reply, he was introduced to the members of the Council. Immediately afterward, the door of the Council-chamber leading into the ante-room was opened, and a large number of ladies and gentlemen, who had been admitted there on tickets, passed "in review" before Kossuth, and were presented to him. During the introduction Governor Boutwell stood on his left, the Secretary of State on his left, and before him stood the members of his suite,—Pulszky, Hajnik, and Captains Kalapsza and Grechenek,—in full uniform.

At twelve o'clock precisely, Kossuth, accompanied by his suite and a portion of the State Committee, was conducted from the Council-chamber to the Senate-chamber, the floor and lobbies and galleries of which were crowded with spectators, most of whom were ladies. He was introduced by Hon. Whiting Griswold to General Wilson, the President of the Senate, who addressed him thus :

"GOVERNOR KOSSTH : The Senate of this ancient commonwealth receives this visit with emotions of the liveliest gratification. I am sure I utter the voice of the whole Senate, in bidding you welcome to this branch of the Legislature.

"The Senate of this commonwealth entertains the most profound sympathy with your country in her misfortunes, and for you, her exiled leader and champion. The Senate of Massachusetts receives you to-day as the representative of Hungary, and the champion of her freedom. The voice of the Senate in regard to your father-land, to the conduct of the house of Hapsburg, the intervention of the Czar of Russia, your own position as the acknowledged head of your nation, and the duty of the republic as one of the nations, has been expressed and placed upon the records of the government. Those resolutions

may be read by all men, now and in the future; for they utter the sentiments of the people of Massachusetts.

“Your gallant nation has failed in its noble struggle for national independence. Hungary lies at the feet of the perfidious house of Hapsburg. But she will rise again.

‘Truth naked is stronger than falsehood in mail;
The wrong cannot prosper, the right cannot fail.’

“You have laid your hand on the heart of Massachusetts. I trust, sir, that heart beats strong and true to freedom and humanity.

“The Senate of Massachusetts indulges the hope that your nation may soon call you from exile, that you may give her your counsels in establishing her nationality and freedom. Having established the freedom of your country, like our Washington, may you retire to the quiet scenes of private life, surrounded by your grateful countrymen, in the bosom of your family, in the companionship of your wife, whose devotion has cheered your heart, amid the cares of public life, in imprisonment and exile, and won the sympathy of every manly heart.

“When life’s labors are done, its duties all performed, may you be cheered by the assurance that you have been true to your native land! May your eye, as it looks for the last time on the scenes of earth, see your banner — the flag of Hungary — floating in peace and freedom! May your ear drink in the sweet music of the approving voice of your people; and may your soul be cheered by the consolation, that when your heart ceases forever to beat, it will mingle with the dust of your father-land!”

KOSSUTH’S SPEECH IN THE SENATE.

“MR. PRESIDENT AND SENATORS: To be thus received by the official representatives of the people of the noble State of Massachusetts, is an honor of which any man may justly feel proud. Such a moment is worth a lifetime; and it is from the deepest emotions of my heart that I appreciate it and thank you for it. But, Mr. President and Senators, I have nothing to say here, but to bow with deep respect to the representatives of the majesty of the people.

“I thank them for their generous welcome, and acknowledge, with profound gratitude, the resolutions of this eminent Senate, to which you, Mr. President, have referred. Your resolutions are revelations of your own brave nation’s destiny. They contain, they embody, the principles of your fathers, of hatred to oppression, and sympathy with

whomsoever resists it. I recognize in them the indomitable spirit which led your glorious ancestors to quit all rather than submit; and, after a century and a half more, to fight to the last, rather than surrender to tyranny.

“I recognize in them that energy, unequalled and unparalleled, which compelled victory in an unequal contest, and has steadily since raised your great country to a like unparalleled height in moral majesty and national prosperity, in freedom, and the demonstration of capacity in the people for self-government. I recognize that prudent sagacity which taught to avoid the commission of error,—that philanthropy of a generous, open heart, which induces pity and sympathy for the victim of wrong and cruelty, and eager approval of self-absolution.

“Now I have laid my hand on the hearts of the people of free America; and I ask them to take the part of my own oppressed and bleeding country. And you know and I know that our cause must succeed. Whatever may be the fate of single individual men, the cause of liberty must triumph.

“You, Mr. President, have been kind enough to wish for me, an humble laborer in her behalf, a high position in my country, when she is disenthralled. My aspiration is not so high. It is my prayer, through the generous sympathy of free America, to have the happiness to see my country free, and to enjoy a quiet life in the midst of my people, my family, and my friends. And that is all for me that I can wish.

“And now I know that my coming back to Europe will not be with the sign of despondency and despair, but will give hope and confidence to millions of hearts that now beat in Hungary with anxiety for sympathy from the people of this great and free and happy land. I have the hope to bring over to my suffering fellow-men the assurance of your aid and your regard; and be assured their gratitude and admiration will be imperishable.

“Mr. President and Senators, once again I thank you for your cordial and warm-hearted reception.”

At the conclusion of Kossuth's remarks, on motion of Mr. Hazewell, the Senate adjourned.

At half-past twelve o'clock the State Committee was announced to the House, and Governor Kossuth made his appearance, in company with Mr. Hopkins, of Northampton, chairman of the committee.

Mr. Hopkins said: "Mr. Speaker, I have the honor to introduce to you, sir, and through you to the House of Representatives, the guest of the commonwealth, Governor Kossuth, of Hungary."

The members of the House rose during the introduction; and, on their resuming their seats, Mr. Banks, the speaker, addressed him as follows:

THE SPEAKER'S ADDRESS.

"In the name of the Representatives of the people of Massachusetts, sir, I bid you a cordial welcome to their hall of legislation.

"It is at rare intervals only that individual virtue and capacity so distinguish men as to make them proper recipients of public honors.

"Your devotion to the cause of liberty and your country; the personal sacrifices you have been called upon to make in her behalf; the energy and skill with which, in the flush of success, you marshalled her limited resources in unequal contests; that unshrinking courage and confidence with which, amid betrayal of high public trusts, and the pangs of overwhelming defeat, you still upheld her honor and her flag; the constancy, eloquence and wisdom, with which, in exile, you have vindicated her rights, challenge our highest admiration.

"To you, in person, the people have spoken their appreciation and approval, in language that requires from us no interpretation, with an earnestness and warmth that exclude possibility of dissimulation or distrust.

"The people of Massachusetts, sir, appreciate and love the liberty they enjoy. They desire the extension of their privileges to their brethren of less favored nations. They have full confidence in the ultimate triumph of liberty throughout the world. It is with them a feeling universal, rather than local. It is confined to no temporary division. It is limited to no period of their history.

"However they may differ as to methods of averting public evil or the attainment of a general good, there is, as to this great end, but one hope, but one prayer. It is for liberty! Whether it come from one who, with an easy confidence, trusts to the dispensation of Providence and the power of truth for the establishment of the principles you this day represent,—toleration among governments, equality and justice among men,—or from another, who, with a larger and stronger faith in human agencies, looks for a day not far distant, when England shall lead the column of republican states in the Old World; when every race in Europe shall attain that nationality which is its birthright, and for

which it yearns; when every kingdom, like the family in domestic life, shall perpetuate an existence of birth, rather than of conquest or despotic favor; its rulers, like its flag, the choice of the people, and both symbols of their peace, prosperity, and freedom,—that aspiration, that prayer, is still everywhere and always for liberty!

“We cannot but look with anxiety, with alarm, upon the aggregation and consolidation of adverse interests and powers, in other quarters of the globe. Still less, sir, were we worthy of that noble heritage we have received from God and our fathers, could we receive without sympathy and without honors one whose life has been devoted to the establishment in such quarters of the principles of government, coëval with our existence as a republic, which constitute our national strength, and which make individual life sweeter at its close for the freedom that has blessed it,—absolute rights of states, unqualified liberties of the people.

“Accept, sir, for yourself and your companions in exile, our sympathy for your misfortunes, and our warmest wishes for your personal welfare; our prayers, and, within the limits of our laws, our individual coöperation, for the immediate restoration of the independence of Hungary.

“Gentlemen of the House of Representatives: I present to you the distinguished statesman of Hungary; the chosen governor of its people; the assertor of its rights; the defender of its liberties; its last, but still reliable hope,—Governor Kossuth,—the illustrious guest of the commonwealth!”

KOSSUTH'S SPEECH TO THE HOUSE.

“In the echo of every step I make on this hallowed ground, in every object which meets my eye, in my being received thus as I am, and in my standing here thus as I stand, there is such an awful and majestic revelation of the most wonderful operation of that Providence which rules the destinies of humanity, that my very voice shrinks back from falling from my lips, and I feel as if the spirit of coming events was whispering into my ears, ‘Bow in adoration before the finger of God, and follow silently his wink,—man has to be silent when history speaks.’ And it is history which speaks.

“Who would have thought that the modest vessel which, two hundred and thirty years ago, landed the handful of Pilgrims on Plymouth Rock, was fraught with the palladium of the world's history? Op-

pression drove them from their ancient European home to the wilderness of an unknown world. The Mayflower developed into a tree of freedom. Where the wilderness stood, there now a mighty Christian nation stands, unequalled in liberty, unequalled in general intelligence and general prosperity,— a glorious evidence of mankind's sovereign capacity for self-government.

“Oppression drove me from my native land, the battle-field where the destinies of Christendom have been decided in former times, and the destinies of Christian civilization are to be decided again. Oppression drove me from that hallowed, martyred land; and I come an exile to the asylum of the oppressed, developed into a home of liberty. But I come not to ask an asylum, not to seek a new home. I come to claim from the happy sons of the Pilgrim Fathers a brother's hand for the oppressed of the Old World, that the old house where hundreds of millions dwell may not be doomed to become a jail to all those millions. And, humble as I am, the cause I plead is great. It is the cause of the community in mankind's destinies; and, because I plead that cause, because in my very misfortune there is a principle dear to your hearts, you honor the poor exile as no triumpher was honored yet. You honor the misfortune of my people as no success was ever honored. I feel that it is almost presumptuous to say the words, ‘I thank you.’ It has something personal in it; it looks as if I had the arrogance to think that I have personally a share in the honors I meet; and — God knows my heart — that is not the case!

“Massachusetts thus welcoming unfortunate Hungary as it does, is a revelation of mankind's nobility; it is a revelation of the community in mankind's destiny; it is the spirit of liberty opening the book of the mysteries of the future, that it may be known to the world what it is Hungary has to do, and what it is America will do. Our part is the danger and the suffering. We know it; we accept it with firm resolution and self-resignation. My land is the emblem of resistance. An humble shrub, we stood our place through centuries, and not only resisted the hurricane threatening to blast Christianity, but checked its course. We will resist the hurricane of despotism, threatening to blast the freedom and civilization of the Christian world; and, God and America helping, we will check its course. We bear a double cross in our arms,— we bear it in our history. The mountains of Hungary, upon which that emblem of martyrdom was planted, are a Golgotha; but Golgotha is not the hill of death,— it is the hill of resurrection and eternal life, triumphant over the doors of hell. When

we had to bear the first cross, a long night of one hundred and eighty years lay gloomily over our Golgotha; and still the day of resurrection came.

“Now we have to bear the second cross, the night of death will not be so long. The stars of America are bright like a sun. It is from this place here that they have risen first; it is from that place here that they shone first, a sun of consolation and of hope to oppressed humanity; and this place here is so high in moral majesty as that its glorious light cannot but spread over the horizon of the Christian world. It is not yet three years that Hungary is nailed to the second emblematical cross. The number three is ominous in mankind’s history. This is our part,—danger, and sufferings, and resurrection. The part you will act is glorious. Oppression drove your Pilgrim Fathers from Europe. The sons of the Pilgrims will send back, in requital — LIBERTY! There is justice in divine decrees, and there is logic in history. The stone which the builders rejected has become the headstone of the corner. Hallowed be the name of the mighty God!

“Sir, ‘*Ense petit placidam sub libertate quietem*’ is the motto of Massachusetts. Algernon Sydney wrote these words; he wrote them with that hand which he styled to be hostile to tyrants. Alas, poor Sydney! thy motto led thee to the scaffold, to find the mild tranquillity of freedom only in the cold grave. But thy martyr blood was not spilt in vain. Thy motto, deadly to thee, mortal man, became successful reality as an immortal nation. The motto must go around the world, and it will. I have a right to say it is mine. There is no living man on earth who has more right to say, ‘*Manus hæc inimica tyrannis.*’ I have a right to say the motto is my people’s. There is no people on earth which has more right to say that it is determined to search with the sword freedom’s mild tranquillity; and it will find it. Sydney has died on the scaffold, and Warren on the battle-field. They were mortal men, and I am an exile. I may die on the scaffold, or on the battle-field. I am a mortal man; but liberty has triumphed on Bunker’s Hill, and it will triumph around Buda’s Hill. The former was the first battle; the latter will be the last. Out of the martyr blood spilt on Bunker Hill the tree of Freedom arose, spreading its mighty branches over a republic of more than twenty millions. That tree is overshadowed gloomily by the tree of Russian despotism, stretching its branches far beyond its own field. There is no place for these two trees on the earth. One must wither, that the other may live. The spirit of this necessity moves through the air of free Amer-

ica. The instinct of the people and your far enlightened sagacity are aware of it. The welcome you honor me with is a manifestation of a principle. I cannot better express my gratitude for it than by pledging my people's word that, Massachusetts may rely upon it, Hungary will do her duty for the spreading of the triumph of those principles which inspired your approbation and your encouragement to the people of Hungary, in honoring its cause in its exiled chief."

This speech, delivered as it was with consummate grace and energy, was listened to with the utmost attention, and made a profound and most favorable impression on the House. At its conclusion, on motion of Mr. Hopkins, of Northampton, the House took a recess of half an hour, and were conducted by divisions to the room whither Kossuth had retired, and were there introduced to him.

After the presentation ceremonies were finished, the House, on motion of Mr. Warren, of Boston, adjourned to the next day. Next day, on motion of Mr. Nettleton, of Chicopee, the House, by unanimous vote, ordered the address of the Speaker and the reply of Kossuth to be entered on the journal.

KOSSUTH IN FANEUIL HALL.

It had been announced that Kossuth would speak in Faneuil Hall on Thursday evening, April 29, and that no one should be admitted to the hall who could not exhibit a Hungarian bond to the doorkeepers. The hour assigned for the opening of the meeting was eight o'clock. But, as there was no means of knowing the number of Hungarian bonds in possession of the people of Boston and its vicinity, great solicitude was felt by many who were supplied with bonds lest they should fail of getting in. Hours before the opening, the crowd began to assemble; and, when the doors were opened at six o'clock, it had become so densely packed in the street before the hall that there was no moving through it, and some ladies fainted before the pressure was relieved by admission. By seven o'clock the hall had become filled, and the pressure at the centre was uncomfortably severe. Few larger audiences ever gathered in Faneuil Hall, and probably none so remarkable for intelligence and character. There was an unusual proportion of ladies, who not only occupied a large part of the galle-

ries, but much of the space beneath the galleries, and to some extent mingled with the crowd in the centre.

The time was whiled away good-humoredly, by appropriate cheers and exclamations, and by calling on various speakers — generally in vain. Senator Myron Lawrence, however, responded to a loud call, and handsomely excused himself from a speech, with a high compliment to the speaker who was expected. At a later period he stepped forward again on the platform, and said that he had some sins to confess on this occasion. He had been guilty of thinking of late, with some others, that the person who was to address us was what is called a *humbug*. But he had seen him, and he now thought differently. He now believed him to be a true advocate of his country's cause, and of human liberty. He had seen the honest tear stand in his eye. He had seen the modest, truthful bearing of the man, — that he had no tricks of the orator, but spoke straight-forward, — and now he gave it up. He now believed him to be sincere in his professions, and honest in his sentiments; and he prayed Almighty God to grant him a glorious success. This frank and manly acknowledgment, so honorable to Mr. Lawrence, was received with unanimous and hearty applause, and put the meeting in the best possible humor.

At a few minutes before eight o'clock, Senator Alden, of the Legislative Committee, announced the officers selected for the meeting as follows:

President — His Excellency, Governor George S. Boutwell.

Vice-presidents — His Honor, Lieutenant-governor Henry W. Cushman; Col. William Schouler, of Boston; Hon. Stephen C. Phillips, of Salem; Abner Curtis, of East Abington; Charles G. Greene, of Boston; Hon. E. H. Kellogg, of Pittsfield; Hon. Moses Wood, of Fitchburg; Hon. Myron Lawrence, of Belchertown; Hon. Charles C. Hazewell, of Concord; and Samuel May, of Boston.

Secretaries — John Milton Earle, of Worcester; Henry L. Dawes, of Adams; George Roberts, of Boston; and John J. Baker, of Beverly.

At eight o'clock Kossuth arrived. With considerable difficulty a passage was opened for him, and for the officers and committee, who, escorting the distinguished guest through the crowd, now came forward, and took their seats. The moment Kossuth reached the stage, there was a prolonged tempest of applause, with waving of hats and kerchiefs like a whirlwind. When silence was restored, Governor Boutwell took the platform, and addressed the audience.

GOVERNOR BOUTWELL'S SPEECH.

“GENTLEMEN: We have come from the exciting and majestic scenes of the reception which the people of Massachusetts have given to the exiled son of an oppressed and distant land, that, on this holy spot, associated in our minds with the eloquence, the patriotism, the virtue of the Revolution, we may listen to his sad story of the past, and contemplate his plans and hopes for the future. And shall these associations which belong to us, and this sad story which belongs to humanity, fail to inspire our souls and instruct our minds in the cause of freedom? Europe is not like a distant ocean, whose agitations and storms give no impulse to the wave that gently touches our shore. The introduction of steam power and the development of commercial energy are blending and assimilating our civilities and institutions. Europe is nearer to us in time than the extreme parts of this country are to each other. As all of us are interested in the prevalence of the principles of justice among our fellow-men, so as a nation are we interested in the prevalence of the principles of justice among the nations and states of Europe.

“Never before was the American mind so intelligently directed to European affairs. We have not sought, nor shall we seek, the control of those affairs. But we may scan and judge their character, and prepare ourselves for the exigencies of national existence to which we may be called. I do not hesitate to pronounce the opinion that the policy of Europe will have a visible effect upon the character, power and destiny, of the American republic. That policy, as indicated by Russia and Austria, is the work of centralization, consolidation and absolutism. American policy is the antagonist of this.

“We are pledged to liberty and the sovereignty of states. Shall a contest between our own principles and those of our enemies awaken no emotion in us?

“We believe that government should exist for the advantage of the individual members of the body politic, and not for the use of those who, by birth, fortune, or personal energy, may have risen to positions of power.

“We recognize the right of each nation to establish its own institutions, and regulate its own affairs.

“Our Revolution rests upon this right, and otherwise is entirely indefensible.

“The policy of this nation, as well foreign as domestic, should be controlled by American principles, that the world may know we have faith in the government we have established.

“While we cannot adopt the cause of any other people, or make the quarrels of European nations our own, it is our duty to guard the principles peculiar to America, as well as those entertained by us in common with the civilized world.

“One principle, which should be universal in states, as among individual men, is, *that each should use his own in such a way as not to injure that which belongs to another.*

“Russia violated this principle when she interfered in the affairs of Hungary, and thus weakened the obligations of other states to respect the sovereignty of the Russian empire.

“The independent existence of the continental states of Europe is of two-fold importance to America. Important politically, important commercially.

“As independent states, they deprive Russia, the central and absorbing power of Europe, of the opportunity on the Mediterranean to interfere in the politics and civilities of this continent. Russia and the United States are as unlike as any two nations which ever existed. If Russia obtains control of Europe by the power of arms, and the United States shall retain this continent by the power of its principles, war will be inevitable; as inevitable as it was in former days that war should arise between Carthage and Rome,—Carthage, which sought to extend her power by commerce, and Rome, which sought to govern the world by the sword. The independence of the states of Europe is, then, the best security for the peace of the world. If these states exist, it must be upon one condition only — that each state is permitted to regulate its own affairs. If the voice of the United States and Great Britain is silent, will Russia allow these states to exist upon this principle? Has she not already partitioned Poland, menaced Turkey, divided with the Sultan the sovereignty of Wallachia, infused new energy into the despotic councils of Austria, and finally aided her in an unholy crusade against the liberties of Hungary? Have we not, then, an interest in the affairs of Europe? And, if we have an interest, ought we not to use the rights of an independent state for its protection?

“The second consideration is commercial.

“Centralization, absolutism, destroy commerce. The policy of Russia diminishes production, and limits markets. Whenever she adds a

state to her dominions, the commerce of the world is diminished. Great Britain and the United States, which possess three-fourths of the commercial marine of the globe, are interested to prevent it. Our commerce at this moment with despotic states is of very little importance, and history shows that in every age commerce has flourished in proportion to the freedom of the people.

“These, gentlemen, are poor words and barren thoughts upon the great European question of the time,—a question which America in her own name, and for herself, must meet at some future day, if now she shall fail to meet it firmly, upon well-settled principles of national law, for the protection and assistance of other states.

“I have done. The exiled patriot shall speak for himself. Not for himself only, nor for the land and people of Hungary he loves so well, but for Europe and America even, he speaks. Before you he pleads your own cause. It is to a just tribunal I present a noble advocate. And to him it shall be a bright spot, in the dreary waste of the exile’s life, that to-night he pleads the cause of Hungary and humanity where once Otis, and Adams, and Hancock, and Quincy, pleaded the cause of America and liberty.

“Gentlemen, I present to you Governor Kossuth, of Hungary.”

Kossuth came forward upon the platform, and was received with nine thundering cheers. He was dressed in his fine Hungarian costume, with a sword; and spoke from notes, in so distinct a voice that the first syllable he uttered was heard in the remotest corner of that vast hall. Notwithstanding the disadvantage of the notes, and of speaking in a tongue foreign to him, he held the attention of the crowded and physically suffering assembly most perfectly till the last word, which all seemed to feel had come too soon. The Commonwealth says: “We can only account for the quiet and interested attention of a Faneuil Hall audience to a read speech, in a foreign accent, by the exquisite, and, we might say, aromatic deliciousness of the style, and the triumphant force of the thought. It swayed the mind like inspiration.”

KOSSUTH’S SPEECH IN FANEUIL HALL.

“LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: Do me the justice to believe that I rise not with any pretension to eloquence, within the Cradle of American Liberty. If I were standing upon the ruins of Prytaneum, and

had to speak whence Demosthenes spoke, my tongue would refuse to obey, my words would die away upon my lips, and I would listen to the winds, fraught with the dreadful realization of his unheeded prophecies.

“ Spirit of American eloquence, frown not at my boldness, that I dare abuse Shakspeare’s language in Faneuil Hall ! It is a strange fate, and not my choice.

“ My tongue is fraught with a down-trodden nation’s wrongs. The justice of my cause is my eloquence ; but misfortune may approach the altar whence the flame arose which roused your fathers from degradation to independence. I claim my people’s share in the benefit of the laws of nature, and of nature’s God. I will nothing add to the historical reputation of these walls ; but I dare hope not to sully them, by appealing to those maxims of truth, the promulgation of which made often tremble these walls, from the thundering cheers of free-men, roused by the clarion sound of inspired oratory.

“ ‘ Cradle of American Liberty ! ’ — it is a great name ; but there is something in it which saddens my heart. You should not say, ‘ *American Liberty.* ’ You should say, ‘ *Liberty in America.* ’ Liberty should not be either American or European,— it should be just ‘ *Liberty.* ’ God is God. He is neither America’s God nor Europe’s God ; he is God. So should liberty be. ‘ American Liberty ’ has much the sound as if you would say, ‘ American privilege. ’ And there is the rub. Look to history, and, when your heart saddens at the fact that liberty never yet was lasting in any corner of the world, and in any age, you will find the key of it in the gloomy truth, that all who yet were free regarded liberty as their privilege, instead of regarding it as a principle. The nature of every privilege is exclusiveness ; that of a principle is communicative. Liberty is a principle, — its community is its security, — exclusiveness is its doom.

“ What is aristocracy ? It is exclusive liberty ; it is privilege ; and aristocracy is doomed, because it is contrary to the destiny and welfare of man. Aristocracy should vanish, not *in* the nations, but also from *amongst* the nations. So long as that is not done, liberty will nowhere be lasting on earth. It is equally fatal to individuals as to nations, to believe themselves beyond the reach of vicissitudes. To this proud reliance, and the isolation resulting therefrom, more victims have fallen than to oppression by immediate adversities. You have prodigiously grown by your freedom of seventy-five years ; but what is seventy-five years to take for a charter of immortality ? No, no !

my humble tongue tells the records of eternal truth. A privilege never can be lasting. Liberty restricted to one nation never can be sure. You may say, 'We are the prophets of God;' but you shall not say, 'God is only *our* God.' The Jews have said so, and the pride of Jerusalem lies in the dust. Our Saviour taught all humanity to say, '*Our Father in heaven*;' and his Jerusalem is lasting to the end of days.

" 'There is a community in mankind's destiny.' That was the greeting which I read on the arch of welcome on the Capitol Hill of Massachusetts. I pray to God the republic of America would weigh the eternal truth of those words, and act accordingly. Liberty in America would then be sure to the end of time. But if you say 'American Liberty,' and take that grammar for your policy, I dare say the time will yet come when humanity will have to mourn over a new proof of the ancient truth, that without community national freedom is never sure. You should change '*American Liberty*' into '*Liberty*,'—then liberty would be forever sure in America, and that which found a cradle in Faneuil Hall never would find a coffin through all coming days. I like not the word *cradle* connected with the word liberty,—it has a scent of mortality. But these are vain words, I know; though in the life of nations the spirits of future be marching in present events, visible to every reflecting mind, still those who foretell them are charged with arrogantly claiming the title of prophets, and prophecies are never believed. However, the cradle of American liberty is not only famous from the reputation of having been always the lists of the most powerful eloquence; it is still more conspicuous for having seen that eloquence attended by practical success. To understand the mystery of this rare circumstance, a man must see the people of New England, and especially the people of Massachusetts.

"In what I have seen of New England, there are two things the evidence of which strikes the observer at every step,—prosperity and intelligence. I have seen thousands assembled, following the noble impulses of generous hearts; almost the entire population of every city, of every town, of every village, where I passed, gathered around me, throwing the flowers of consolation in my thorny way. I can say I have seen the people here, and I have looked at it with a keen eye, sharpened in the school of a toilsome life. Well, I have seen not a single man bearing mark of that poverty upon himself which in old Europe strikes the eye sadly at every step. I have seen no ragged poor; I have seen not a single house bearing the appearance of deso-

lated poverty. The cheerfulness of a comfortable condition, the result of industry, spreads over the land. One sees at a glance that the people work assiduously,—not with the depressing thought just to get from day to day, by hard toil, through the cares of a miserable life, but they work with the cheerful consciousness of substantial happiness. And the second thing which I could not fail to remark is the stamp of intelligence impressed upon the very eyes and outward appearance of the people at large. I and my companions have seen that people in the factories, in the work-shops, in their houses and in the streets, and could not fail a thousand times to think ‘how intelligent that people looks.’ It is to such a people that the orators of Faneuil Hall had to speak, and therein is the mystery of their success. They were not wiser than the public spirit of their audience, but they were the eloquent interpreters of the people’s enlightened instinct.

“No man can force the harp of his own individuality into the people’s heart; but every man may play upon the chords of his people’s heart, who draws his inspiration from the people’s instinct. Well, I thank God for having seen the public spirit of the people of Massachusetts bestowing its attention to the cause I plead, and pronouncing its verdict. After the spontaneous manifestations of public opinion which I have met in Massachusetts, there can be not the slightest doubt that his Excellency the high-minded Governor of Massachusetts, when he wrote his memorable address to the Legislature,—the joint committee of the Legislative Assembly, after a careful and candid consideration of the subject, not only concurring in the views of the executive government, but elucidating them in a report, the irrefutable logic and elevated statesmanship of which will forever endear the name of Hazewell to oppressed nations, and the Senate of Massachusetts adopting the resolutions proposed by the Legislative Committee, in respect to the question of national intervention,—I say the spontaneous manifestation of public opinion leaves not the slightest doubt that all these executive and legislative proceedings, not only met the full approbation of the people of Massachusetts, but were, in fact, nothing else but the solemn interpretation of that public opinion of the people of Massachusetts. A spontaneous outburst of popular sentiments tells often more in a single word than all the skill of elaborate eloquence could. I have met that word. ‘*We worship not the man, but we worship the principle,*’ shouted out a man in Worcester, amidst the thundering cheers of a countless multitude. It was a word like those words of flame, spoken in Faneuil Hall, out of which liberty in America was born. That word

is a revelation that the spirit of eternal truth and of present exigencies moves through the people's heart. That word is teeming with the destinies of America.

“Would to God that, in the leading quarters, small party considerations should never prevent the due appreciation of the people's instinctive sagacity! It is with joyful consolation and heartfelt gratitude I own that of that fear I am forever relieved in respect to Massachusetts. Once more I have met the revelation of the truth that the people of Massachusetts worship principles. I have met it on the front of your Capitol, in those words raised to the consolation of the oppressed world, by the constitutional authorities of Massachusetts, to the high heaven, upon an arch of triumph,—‘*Remember that there is a community in mankind's destiny.*’

“I cannot express the emotion I felt when, standing on the steps of your Capitol, these words above my head, the people of Massachusetts tendered me its hand in the person of its chief magistrate. The emotion which thrilled through my heart was something like that Lazarus must have felt when the Saviour spoke to him ‘*rise;*’ and when I looked up with a tender tear of heartfelt gratitude in my eyes, I saw the motto of Massachusetts all along the Capitol, ‘*We seek with the sword the mild quietness of liberty.*’

“You have proved this motto not to be an empty word. The heroic truth of it is recorded in the annals of Faneuil Hall, it is recorded on Bunker Hill, recorded in the Declaration of Independence.

“Having read that motto, coupled with the acknowledgment of the principle that there is a community in the destiny of all humanity, I know what answer I have to take to those millions who look with profound anxiety to America.

“Gentlemen, the Mahometans say that the city of Bokhara receives not light from without, but is lustrous with its own light. I don't know much about Bokhara; but so much I know, that Boston is the sun whence radiated the light of resistance against oppression. And, from what it has been my good fortune to experience in Boston, I have full reason to believe that the sun which shone forth with such a bright lustre in the days of oppression has not lost its lustre by freedom and prosperity. Boston is the metropolis of Massachusetts, and Massachusetts has given its vote. It has given it after having, with the penetrating sagacity of its intelligence, looked attentively into the subject, and fixed with calm consideration its judgment thereabout. After having had so much to speak, it was with infinite grat-

ification I heard myself addressed in Brookfield, Framingham, and several other places, with these words, 'We know your country's history; we agree with your principles; we want no speech; just let us hear your voice, and then go on; we trust and wish you may have other things to do than speak.'

"Thus having neither to tell my country's tale, because it is known, nor having to argue about principles, because they are agreed with, I am in the happy condition of being able to restrain myself to a few desultory remarks about the nature of the difficulties I have to contend with in other quarters, that the people of Massachusetts may see upon what ground those stand who are following a direction contrary to the distinctly pronounced opinion of Massachusetts, in relation to the cause I plead.

"Give me leave to mention that, having had an opportunity to converse with leading men of the great political parties, which are on the eve of an animated contest for the presidency—(would it had been possible for me to have come to America either before that contest was engaged, or after it will be decided! I came, unhappily, in a bad hour),—I availed myself of that opportunity to be informed about what are considered to be the principal issues in case the one or the other party carries the prize; and, indeed, having got the information thereof, I could not forbear to exclaim, 'But, my God! all these questions together cannot outweigh the all-overruling importance of foreign policy!' It is there, in the question of foreign policy, that the heart of the next future throbs. Security and danger, developing prosperity, and its check, peace and war, tranquillity and embarrassment,—yes, life and death will be weighed in the scale of foreign policy! It is evident things are come to the point where they have been in ancient Rome, when old Cato never spoke privately or publicly about whatever topic, without closing his speech with these words: '*However, my opinion is that Carthage must be destroyed;*'—thus advertising his countrymen that there was one question outweighing in importance all other questions, from which public attention should never for a moment be withdrawn.

"Such, in my opinion, is the condition of the world now. Carthage and Rome had no place on earth together. Republican America and all-overwhelming Russian absolutism cannot much longer subsist together on earth. Russia active,—America passive,—there is an immense danger in that fact; it is like the avalanche in the Alps, which the noise of a bird's wing may move and thrust down with irresistible

force, growing every moment. I cannot but believe it were highly time to do as old Cato did, and finish every speech with these words: '*However, the law of nations should be maintained, and absolutism not permitted to become omnipotent.*'

"I could not forbear to make these remarks; and the answer I got was, 'That is all true, and all right, and will be attended to when the election is over; but, after all, the party must come into power, and you know there are so many considerations,—men want to be managed, and even prejudices spared, and so forth.'

"And it is true; but it is sorrowful that it is true. That reminds me of what, in Schiller's *Maria Stuart*, Mortimer says to Lord Leicester, the all-mighty favorite of Elizabeth: '*O God, what little steps has such a great lord to go at this court!*' There is the first obstacle I have to meet with. This consolation, at least, I have, that the chief difficulty I have to contend with is neither lasting, nor an argument against the justice of my cause, or against the righteousness of my principles. Just as the calumnies by which I am assailed can but harm my own self, but cannot impair the justice of my country's cause, or weaken the propriety of my principles,—so that difficulty, being just a difficulty and no argument, cannot change the public opinion of the people, which always cares more about principles than about wire-pullings.

"The second difficulty I have to contend with is rather curious. Many a man has told me that, if I had only not fallen into the hands of the abolitionists and free-soilers, he would have supported me; and, had I landed somewhere in the south, instead of New York, I would have met quite different things from that quarter;—but, being supported by the free-soilers, of course I must be opposed by the south. On the other side, I received a letter from which I beg leave to quote a few lines:

" 'You are silent on the subject of slavery. Surrounded as you have been by slaveholders ever since you put your foot on English soil, if not during your whole voyage from Constantinople,—and ever since you have been in this country surrounded by them, whose threats, promises and flattery, make the stoutest hearts succumb,—your position has put me in mind of a scene described by the apostle of Jesus Christ, when the devil took him up into a high mountain,' &c. &c.

"Now, gentlemen, thus being charged from one side with being in the hands of abolitionists, and from the other side with being in the hands of the slaveholders, I indeed am at a loss what course to take,

if these very contradictory charges were not giving me the satisfaction to feel that I stand just where it is my duty to stand, on a truly *American* ground.

“I must beg leave to say a few words in that respect; the more, because I could not escape vehement attacks for not committing myself even in that respect, with whatever interior party question. I claim the right for my people to regulate its own domestic concerns. I claim this as a law of nations, common to all humanity; and because common to all, I claim to see them protected by the United States, not only because they have the power to defend what despots dare offend, but also because it is the necessity of their position to be a power on earth, which they would not be, if the law of nations can be changed, and the general condition of the world altered, without their vote. Now, that being my position and my cause, it would be the most absurd inconsistency, if I would offend that principle which I claim and which I advocate.

“And O, my God, have I not enough sorrows and cares to bear on these poor shoulders? Is it not astonishing that the moral power of duties, and the iron will of my heart, sustain yet this shattered frame? that I am desired yet to take up additional cares? If the cause I plead be just, if it be worthy of your sympathy, and at the same time consistent with the impartial considerations of your own moral and material interests,—which a patriot never should disregard, not even out of philanthropy,—then why not weigh that cause with the scale of its own value, and not with a foreign one? Have I not difficulties enough to contend with, that I am desired to increase them yet with my own hands? Father Mathew goes on preaching temperance, and he may be opposed or supported on his own ground; but who ever imagined opposition to him because, at the same time, he takes not into his hands to preach fortitude or charity? And, indeed, to oppose or to abandon the cause I plead, only because I mix not with the agitation of an interior question, is a greater injustice yet, because to discuss the question of foreign policy I have a right. My nation is an object of that policy; we are interested in it; but to mix with interior party movements I have no right, not being a citizen of the United States.

“The third difficulty which I meet, so far as I am told, is the opposition of the commercial interest. I have the agreeable duty to say that this opposition, or rather indifference, is only partial. I have met several testimonials of the most generous sympathy from gentlemen of commerce. But if, upon the whole, it should be really true that

there is more coolness, or even opposition, in that quarter than in others, then I may say that there is an entire misapprehension of the true commercial interests in it. I could say that it would be strange to see commerce, and chiefly the commerce of a republic, indifferent to the spread of liberal institutions. That would be a sad experience, teeming with incalculable misfortunes, reserved to the nineteenth century. Until now, history has recorded that 'commerce has been the most powerful locomotive of principles, and the most fruitful ally of civilization, intelligence, and of liberty.' It was merchants whose names are shining with immortal lustre from the most glorious pages of the golden books of Venice, Genoa, &c. Commerce, republican commerce, raised single cities to the position of mighty powers on earth, and maintained them in that proud position for centuries; and surely it was neither indifference nor opposition to republican principles by which they have thus ennobled the history of commerce and of humanity. I know full well that, since the treasures of commerce took their way into the coffers of despotism, in the shape of eternal loans, and capital began to speculate upon the oppression of nations, a great change has occurred in that respect.

"But, thanks to God, the commerce of America is not engaged in that direction, hated by millions, cursed by humanity! Her commerce is still what it was in former times, the beneficent instrumentality of making mankind partake of all the fruits and comforts of the earth, and of human industry. Here it is no paper speculation upon the changes of despotism; and, therefore, if the commercial interests of republican America are considered with that foresighted sagacity, without which there is no future and no security in them, I feel entirely sure that no particular interest can be more ambitious to see absolutism checked and freedom and democratic institutions developed in Europe than the commerce of republican America. It is no question of more or less profit; it is a question of life and death to it. Commerce is the heel of Achilles, the vulnerable point of America. Thither will, thither must be aimed the first blow of victorious absolutism; the instinct of self-preservation would lead absolutism to strike that blow, if its hatred and indignation would not lead to it. Air is not more indispensable to life, than freedom and constitutional government in Europe to the commerce of America.

"Though many things which I have seen have, upon calm reflection, induced me to raise an humble word of warning against materialism, still I believe there was more patriotic solicitude than reality in

the fact that Washington and John Adams, at the head of the war department, complained of a predominating materialism (they styled it avarice), which threatened the ruin of America. I believe that complaint would, even to-day, not be more founded than it was in the infant age of your republic; still, if there be any motive for that complaint of your purest and best patriots,—if the commerce of America would know, indeed, no better guiding star than only the momentary profit of a cargo just floating over the Atlantic,—I would be even then at a loss how else to account for the indifference of the commerce of America in the cause of European liberty, than by assuming that it is believed the present degraded condition of Europe may endure, if only the popular agitations are deprived of material means to disturb that which is satirically called tranquillity.

“But such a supposition would, indeed, be the most obnoxious, the most dangerous fallacy. As the old philosopher, being questioned how he could prove the existence of God, answered, ‘by opening the eyes;’ just so, nothing is necessary but to open the eyes, in order that men of the most ordinary common sense become aware of it, that the present condition of Europe is too unnatural, too contrary to the vital interests of the countless millions, to endure even for a short time. A crisis is inevitable; no individual influence can check it; no indifference or opposition can prevent it. Even men like myself, concentrating the expectations and confidence of oppressed millions in themselves, have only just enough power, if provided with the requisite means, to keep the current in a sound direction, so that in its inevitable eruption it may not become dangerous to social order, which is indispensable to the security of person and property, without which especially no commerce has any future at all. And that being the unsophisticated condition of the world, and a crisis being inevitable, I indeed cannot imagine how those who desire nothing but peace and tranquillity can withhold their helping hands, that the inevitable crisis should not only be kept in a sound direction, but also carried down to a happy issue, capable to prevent the world from boiling continually, like a volcano, and insuring a lasting peace and a lasting tranquillity, never possible so long as the great majority of nations are oppressed, but sure so soon as the nations are content,—and content they can only be when they are free.

“Indeed, if reasonable logic has not yet forsaken the world, it is the men of peace, it is the men of commerce, to the support of whom I have a right to look. Others may support my cause out of generosity,—these must support me out of considerate interest; others may oppose

me out of egotism, — American commerce, in opposing me, would commit suicide.

“Gentlemen, of such narrow nature are the considerations which oppose my cause. Of equally narrow, inconsistent scope are all the rest, with the enumeration of which I will not abuse your kind indulgence. Compare with them the broad basis of lofty principles upon which the commonwealth of Massachusetts took its stand in bestowing the important benefit of its support to my cause; and you cannot forbear to feel proudly that the spirit of old Massachusetts is still alive, entitled to claim that right in the councils of the united republic which it had in the glorious days when, amidst dangers, wavering resolutions and partial despondency, Massachusetts took boldly the lead to freedom and independence.

“Those men of immortal memory, who within these very walls lighted with the heavenly spark of their inspiration the torch of freedom in America, avowed for their object the welfare of mankind; and, when you raised the monument of Bunker Hill, it was the genius of freedom thrilling through the heart of Massachusetts which made one of your distinguished orators say that the days of your ancient glory will continue to rain influence on the destinies of mankind to the end of time. It is upon this inspiration I rely, in the name of my down-trodden country, — to-day the martyr of mankind, to-morrow the battle-field of its destiny.

“Time draws nigh when either the influence of Americans must be felt throughout the world, or the position abandoned to which you rose with gigantic vitality out of the blood of your martyrs.

“I have seen the genius of those glorious days spreading its fiery wings of inspiration over the people of Massachusetts. I feel the spirit of olden times moving through Faneuil Hall. Let me cut short my stammering words; let me leave your hearts alone with the inspiration of history; let me bear with me the heart-strengthening conviction that I have seen Boston still a radiating sun, as it was of yore, but risen so high on mankind’s sky as to spread its warming rays of elevated patriotism far over the waves. American patriotism of to-day is philanthropy for the world.

“Gentlemen, I trust in God, I trust in the destinies of humanity, and intrust the hopes of oppressed Europe to the consistent energy of Massachusetts.”

Kossuth took his seat amidst repeated rounds of applause, and his

Excellency, the chairman, announced that the meeting was adjourned. After giving a few hearty cheers for Hungary, the audience quietly dispersed.

THE LEGISLATIVE BANQUET.

ON Friday evening, April 30, a grand Legislative Banquet in honor of Kossuth was given at Faneuil Hall. About seventy gentlemen of distinction, from all parts of the state, were specially invited by the committee, and eight hundred tickets issued for sale, at the rate of two dollars each. The demand for these tickets was so great that in many cases they sold at a premium, and on Friday it was almost impossible to procure them at all.

The invited guests and ticket-holders assembled in the Doric Hall of the state-house at six o'clock, and a procession was formed by the Sergeant at Arms, assisted by Col. Schouler, in the following order:

The Governor and Council.

The Invited Guests.

The Members of the Senate.

The Members of the House.

The General Ticket-holders.

In this order the procession moved, accompanied by the Brigade Band, through Park, Tremont, Winter, Washington and State streets, and Merchants-row, to Faneuil Hall, which was reached about half-past six o'clock. The guests entered, and were seated in most admirable order. At the tables on the right and left of the president were seated the lieutenant-governor, the members of the Executive Council, members of the Senate, and invited guests. Among the latter was the venerable Josiah Quincy, whose entrance to the hall was greeted with enthusiastic cheers.

Kossuth and suite entered the hall at a quarter before seven, accompanied by Governor Boutwell, President Wilson, and Speaker Banks. The company rose to receive him, and greeted his entrance with a storm of cheers. After they were seated, the blessing of Heaven was invoked by Rev. Mr. Burton, the chaplain of the Senate.

The tables, when fully laid, presented a very fine appearance. There were seven in the floor of the hall, and two under each gallery. The usual table and side-tables were extended across the platform, and the

whole were beautifully ornamented with various appropriate devices of confectionary work, bouquets of flowers, &c. Upon the tops of these devices were blended harmoniously the American, British and Hungarian flags, and in the centre of them was a statue of Kossuth. The tables contained plates for eight hundred and seventy-five persons. The galleries were occupied by several hundred spectators, mostly ladies.

At ten minutes to eight o'clock, Col. Schouler rose and said: "It is always customary, when we meet on occasions such as this, that, before we proceed to our mental enjoyments, thanks should be returned for those of a physical nature." He called on Rev. Dr. Beecher, who returned thanks in appropriate terms. To his concluding appeal for success to the aims of Governor Kossuth, an universal "Amen!" resounded through the hall.

Col. Schouler then announced the following gentlemen as officers for the meeting :

President — Hon. Henry Wilson, President of the Senate.

Vice-presidents — Hon. N. P. Banks, Speaker of the House; Hon. Francis Brinley, of Boston; Erastus Hopkins, of Northampton; Hon. Whiting Griswold, of Greenfield; Hon. Anson Burlingame, of Cambridge; Hon. Wm. Barney, of Nantucket; Hon. E. D. Bassett, of Barnstable; Hon. I. W. Beard, of Lowell; J. Humphrey, of Weymouth; Hon. J. B. Alley, of Lynn; Wm. Claflin, of Hopkinton; R. W. Holman, of Boston; Hon. Thomas G. Cary, of Boston; Col. Isaac Davis, of Worcester; Hon. E. L. Keyes, of Dedham.

Demonstrations of applause, more or less vehement, were made at the announcement of each of these popular names.

President Wilson, rising amid the cheers of the company, said :

"GENTLEMEN: It is our good fortune to assemble in Faneuil Hall to-night to pay a tribute of respect and admiration to the rightful Governor of Hungary. [Loud cheers.] We believe in the right of the people to make their own governors; and we deny here in Faneuil Hall to-night the right of the Czar of Russia to unmake the Governor of the Hungarian nation. [Loud applause.] The voice of the whole Hungarian nation made Louis Kossuth its governor; the intervention of the Czar of Russia made him an exile. The people of Hungary desire national independence, and free institutions, similar to those which we enjoy in America, for their country. [Three cheers.] The Czar of Russia, in violating the rights of Hungary, has violated the

rights and outraged the sentiments of the United States, and of all the civilized world. This violation drove our honored guest from Hungary, and placed that nation at the feet of the cruel and perfidious house of Hapsburg.

“It is our good fortune, gentlemen, to have with us, as the guest of the nation and of the commonwealth, a man who fills a larger space in the hearts of the people,—of mankind at large,—than any other man in all the world. [Rapturous cheers.] Eight months ago that great man was placed under the star-spangled banner of the United States; and, during those brief eight months, in the Old World and in the New, he has received the spontaneous homage of the people,—he has received such welcome from them as no man living, in this or any other country, could have got. [Loud applause.] He has received a generous welcome from the people of Massachusetts, who love liberty for all mankind, of every race and condition. He has received a noble demonstration of this welcome here, where the great men of our country, in ‘thoughts that breathe and words that burn,’ have uttered the great sentiments of liberty [loud cheers],—the sentiments that have thrilled the hearts of the whole people. [Cheers.] He has stood by the grave of Washington, and, dropping a tear to the memory of that peerless champion of liberty, has uttered those memorable words: ‘We can rely only on our own iron wills, on the providence of God, and on our own good swords!’ Could our voices be heard this night, from this old cradle of American liberty and independence, by the Hungarian people, by the struggling masses of the Old World, we would say to them, Adopt for your motto these words of your exiled champion, uttered over the grave of Washington. Write them on your doorposts and altars, on the covers of your Bibles and prayer-books; impress them on the brain and heart of your youth; repeat them at the rising of the sun, and at the going down of the sun; ring them in the ears of your oppressors at noon-day; and the time will soon come when we who are here to-night shall assemble again in Faneuil Hall, not to welcome your exiles, but to celebrate your glorious triumphs,—the triumphs of freedom and democracy in Europe! [Great applause.] Gentlemen, Hon. Edward L. Keyes will read the first of the toasts designed to be given this evening.”

“The President of the United States” was given, and received with great approbation.

Col. Isaac H. Wright, Navy Agent of the port of Boston, was announced to respond to this toast. He thanked the president for the honor of calling upon him to respond. He knew hardly how to express his thanks. He said he could hardly think of anything unconnected with that which had brought together this assembly. The President of the United States had responded to the sentiment of the people in regard to Kossuth. He had responded to the sentiment given by Kossuth to the American people,— "*Be a power upon earth.*" We will be a power upon earth. The past, present and future, all call upon us to carry out this sentiment. When Kossuth stood beneath the protecting flag of the United States, where was the American who did not feel that we were a power upon earth? May we act as firmly in our generation, and to the circumstances which surround us, as did our fathers to the circumstances which surrounded them!

The second regular toast was:

"The Governor of the Commonwealth: His respect to the principle of liberty, in the person of Governor Kossuth, is proof that he is worthy to preside over the destinies of a free people."

To this toast Gov. Boutwell responded. He said he should not make a speech. He had already participated so much in the exercises of the week, that it would not be proper. He would ask simply whether those before him believed that the existence of independent states — of states worthy of independent existence — on the continent of Europe had been menaced, yea, even blotted out? and if so, whether there is a law of nations applicable to such cases? and if they so believed, whether it is to be declared? [cries of "Yes, yes!"] and if so, by whom,— by individuals, or by states? [cries of "By states!"] Yes, I say by states. And now, shall this nation act upon this opinion? ["Yes."] Then I ask you further, if this declaration be made, do you believe it will be of any value? ["Yes."] Yes; you say yes, and I say yes. This century has changed in regard to the civilities and powers of man in this respect.

The governor then alluded to the increase of the power of the public opinion of nations, by the improvements in printing, the steam-car, the railroad, and the telegraph. Then let the sons of Massachusetts use this power, and make it felt in the diplomacy of the country. If this declaration is unheeded, what will the United States then do? He replied, acting upon this principle, she will do what seems proper

when these circumstances arise. War is a great evil, but it is not the greatest of evils. Prostrated humanity is a greater evil than war. Massachusetts rests upon the principle of the rightful power of all to govern themselves. With a few further remarks upon this point, Gov. Boutwell resumed his seat, amid hearty applause.

The next regular toast was :

“The City of Boston : The seat of commerce, learning and charity, and the honored birth-place of American liberty.”

Mayor Seaver, in response, spoke as follows :

“MR. PRESIDENT: I thank you for the sentiment which has been proposed in honor of the city of Boston. She could not but be distinguished in being the capital of such a state as Massachusetts. She is always ready to acknowledge her indebtedness to our honored old commonwealth; and I am sure she will never be found wanting in the performance of the duties that grow out of her relations to it. Happily, sir, the interests of all portions of the state, the city and the country, are identical; and anything, therefore, that promotes the prosperity of the one, promotes the prosperity of all. Long may the kindly sentiments which now prevail among the people, from Cape Cod to Berkshire, be continued and strengthened! This, I assure you, sir, is the ardent wish of the people of this city; and nothing will designedly be done by them to impair it. Whatever differences of opinion may exist here or elsewhere, with regard to our relations with foreign countries, with intervention or non-intervention, *there is none, there can be none*, with regard to the duty and the privilege of receiving and welcoming exiles and strangers who flee from despotism to our own free land. Boston, I am proud to say, has always received with open arms and warm hearts all who are oppressed in their religious or political rights. It cannot be otherwise in a city from which may be seen Bunker Hill, Lexington, and Concord,—a city which participated so freely in the glorious struggle of '76.

“The freedom of Europe is only a question of time. Its accomplishment is certain; and those despots who by tyrannical expedients endeavor to perpetuate their power are like the man who cut down the tree in order to gather its fruit.

“I beg leave to offer you the following sentiment :

“Our Distinguished Guest : As men, we welcome him as brother-man; as *freemen*, we extend the hand of sympathy to a sufferer in the cause of liberty.”

The fourth regular toast was :

“The Quincys: The echoes of Faneuil Hall are familiar with the sound of that honored name.”

President Wilson said: “Allow me to introduce to you the son of one of the men who breathed into the nation the breath of life, and who inherits all the native love of liberty which distinguished his ancestors,— the venerable Josiah Quincy.”

Mr. Quincy was received with universal and long-continued cheering. He said :

“MR. PRESIDENT: This is as insupportable as it is unexpected. At my time of life I came here with great difficulty. I could not expect, at the age of eighty years, to feel the enthusiasm of middle age, or anything of the ardor of youth. Age chills the feelings, and renders the heart cold; but I have still feeling enough left to say to the hero of the Old World, Welcome to the liberty of the New! I can say to the hero of Hungarian liberty, Welcome to the peace and happiness of our western home! And I can pray that in Hungary he may yet enjoy the same blessings on his own fields, partaking of the fruit of his own acres, and reaping the reward of his patriotic labors. How this can happen, my dim eyes cannot discover; but there is a God in heaven, who will break the rod of the oppressor, and let the oppressed go free.

“Independent of all considerations of Hungary, I rejoice that, in the providence of God, our distinguished guest has been brought to our shores, and believe that he has visited the United States for our good. He has passed from one free state to another, like the lightning, to arouse every free heart to the dangers of liberty throughout the world. What have we witnessed? Six months ago, France stood in the glory of her liberty. Where is she now? The iron heel of despotism is pivoting on her neck, and she is licking the foot that crushes her, and gilding the chain that binds her. We may all learn a lesson from this, that liberty is never safe unless the people are virtuous, and prepared to defend themselves. [Cheers.] Where shall we find the spirit of liberty in the world? I know of it in no other countries than the United States and Great Britain. Let Great Britain fail and be beaten down, and all the navies of Europe will be bristling against the United States. In Great Britain herself can we not see that the spirit of the Reformation, the spirit of 1688, no longer lives in that country as

it once did? There is danger for liberty, and the warning is timely. Let me close by repeating a sentiment which I just uttered :

“The Liberty of a People: Safe only where they are virtuous, and prepared to defend themselves.”

The fifth regular toast was :

“Governor Louis Kossuth: The man who began public life by cheering his affrighted countrymen amid the ravages of the cholera; who suffered years of imprisonment for daring to report his country’s wrongs; who was applied to by the Emperor of Austria as the only man who could restore the peace of Vienna; who, in the cabinet, could, like Carnot, organize victory over the enemies of his country; who resigned the Governorship of Hungary when her liberties were guaranteed; who refused, with scorn, the infamous price at which the Turk offered him an asylum; and who now, a homeless exile, commands, by his surprising eloquence, the sympathy of the world in behalf of his down-trodden country,—deserves the admiration, respect and aid, of every friend of republicanism, humanity and liberty, throughout the earth.”

President Wilson, introducing the guest of the evening, said :

“Gentlemen, allow me to present to you the illustrious guest of Massachusetts, Governor Kossuth. He has won our admiration as a man by the advocacy of the cause of his country, and he has won all our hearts by the purity of his principles.”

As Kossuth came forward on the platform, he was received by nine hearty cheers. After the applause subsided, he spoke substantially as follows.

KOSSUTH’S SPEECH AT THE BANQUET.

“GENTLEMEN: One of your greatest men [Franklin], standing up at the moment of a great time, teeming in rich events affecting the destinies of mankind, before the Parliament of England, called to answer what others might ask him, though learned and great, was not eloquent in the commonly accepted sense of that word; but his answer, full of simple truth, is recognized as one of the greatest triumphs of human eloquence.

“He had an inspired mind. To him, modesty was a virtue; to me, it is but duty. I can get no answer to the toast with which you have honored me out of inspiration; but, looking up to God, and remem-

bering my country's cause, and trusting to your generosity, I will try what I can say. Before all, let me express a word of veneration and thanks to that venerable gentleman there [pointing to Josiah Quincy]. [Cheers.] Sir, I believe when you spoke of age cooling the hearts of men, you spoke the truth in respect to ordinary men [cheers]; but you did yourself injustice. [Cheers.] The common excitement and warm blood of youth pass away; but the heart of the wise man, the older it grows, the warmer it feels. [Cheers.]

“Gentlemen, if I am not mistaken, the toast you honored me with was almost entirely personal in its character. It is a great fact, gentlemen, that the glory of your free people resists even the common fate of humanity, recorded in history, that prosperity often hardens the heart; and that a poor exile like myself, with nothing to speak for him but the justness of his own cause, his own sufferings, and the misfortunes of his country, meets even personal honors. Great events sometimes spring from small things. That fact Divine Providence may intend to mark an era in mankind's destiny,—an era at which America consents to fulfil its destiny among the nations of the earth. When happiness and power take misfortune by the hand, it is not possible it can pass away without fruits for future time. [Cheers.]

“But if in your expectations I should become a screen to divert, for a single moment, your attention from my country's cause and attract it to myself, I entreat you, even here, to forget me, and bestow all your attention and your generous sympathy upon the cause of my down-trodden father-land. Indeed, I believe the time has come when few men have the right any more to claim the name of great men. According as public spirit advances, individual greatness lowers. As to me, indeed, it would be curious, if the names of the great men who invented the plough and the alphabet, who changed the corn into flour and the flour into bread, should be forgotten, and my name remembered. Great men, whose generous deeds mark an era in developing the great battle of humanity, wresting the sceptre from the tyrant's hands,—such men live; humanity cherishes their generosity; but self is forgotten in the cause. Notwithstanding, I may be permitted to dwell upon a few incidents in my own life, such as are instructive as evident marks of the bountiful operation of Divine Providence. Before this, however, having heard Turkey mentioned in regard to certain facts which you, Mr. President, enumerate among not my merits, but my duties, it is due to the Sultan of Turkey to say he never

attached that price to the protection of my life. Russian diplomacy is very skilful (here, by and by,—excuse me, gentlemen, when I say it,—you may see something of that skill which is sending some of its shrewdest men to the Emperor Souloque; not, of course, out of mere compliment),—now, Russian diplomacy is not more common or more skilful anywhere than at Constantinople; and it succeeded to carry a vote in the Divan, the great Council of Turkey, that I and my associates should be surrendered. In consequence, a high officer sent to Widdin this information, to suggest that, if I valued life more than honor, I could save it by abandoning my religion. But, on the second day, when the vote was made known to the Sultan, he arose, raised his hands, and said: ‘I will never avert the sufferings of a war from my country by dishonor. If I am doomed to perish, I will perish with honor. I will never surrender them.’ [Cheers.] It is at this time I wrote a letter to England; and a very interesting fact occurred, brought home to my mind by a recent incident at Hartford, but of which I will not speak now, because it has been reported in the newspapers. However, before Lord Palmerston got my letter, the Sultan had given his decision; and, not knowing how far the satellite of the Czar, Francis Joseph, might go to prevent our lives from being saved, he ordered out forty thousand men from the regular army to protect us. But a rumor having spread that this army was intended to act against Russia, instead of forty thousand, one hundred thousand men assembled, from one province, by their own will. So much is due, on my part, to history, and to the honor of the Sultan. He, many times, has protected my countrymen. He never refused a refuge to an unfortunate Hungarian.

“Now, as to my own humble self. Two circumstances may not be unworthy of attention. First, that when by violence and oppression beat down, it was not my merit, but my fate, that, touching the earth, like the mythical Antæus, I rose always with more power to do good to my country and to humanity. Even the circumstance by which I have the honor to bow before you, and to have become an opportunity for the pronouncement of great principles in the United States,—that fact proves true what I have said.

“When I went to prison in far Asia, abandoned by all the world, forgotten by all except my own people, it was expected that Kutayah would become my grave,—at least, the grave of my activities for all future time; but I left that prison under the protecting banner of the United States, the first time raised as a signal that the United States

were willing to be a power on earth ; and then, as I went on, I met proof of the fact that, instead of ancient isolation, there was acknowledgment of a tie binding the destinies of nations. [Cheers.]

“ When on the threshold of manhood I thought not how to gain glory, which I was terrified at, but to benefit my country. I believed the first step to secure that benefit was free thought and a free press, forbidden to us not by law, but only by the arbitrary power of the government. I took ground against that arbitrary government ; and, having no other power, resorted to the ancient method of making manuscript copies of the reports of the Hungarian Parliament ; and I did it with the certain confidence that a free press would be the result of my endeavors.

“ I was sent to prison, and was for one year deprived of all intellectual food ; until, at last, when permitted to select books, I was ordered to have nothing about politics. Well, indeed, not conscious of what I did, but only remembering the treasures hidden in the English language,—treasures of knowledge and of science,—I told them to give me an English Dictionary and Shakspeare. These could have nothing to do with politics. Look what came out of that fact ! — not that with my bad English I could contribute anything to knowledge, intellect or righteous sentiment ; but, if I did not know what little English I speak, I would not have been received as I have been in England or America, because there is necessity of communication. God looks into the heart ; men want words to express their thoughts. [Cheers.] My enemies considered so much. An article was published in the *Augsburg Gazette*, I believe, on the very day when I landed in England, saying that I was not able to speak English, and that Lord Dudley Stuart would take me by the hand as a show from far Asia, and escort me through the country, making bad speeches, while I only bowed or muttered. Just to show how little I knew of English, my friend and representative in London, Mr. Pulszky [cheers for Pulszky], can bear testimony that, a few weeks before I came to Southampton, I sent him a despatch, written in English, a part of which it was necessary to publish ; and he, not considering himself authorized to alter it, was somewhat embarrassed, because it was written in such a bad manner. Then from Turkey, where I had not much opportunity to study English, I came to England, and since I have spoken five hundred times. It is a curious thought, indeed,—it would be presumptuous for me to apply it to myself,—but I remember in olden times, when God had chosen humble men as his tools to carry out his designs, he imparted

to them the gift of tongues, and they went on preaching his word among all the nations of the earth. By the bounty and mercy of God, when I think what I have done, it seems nearly to me that I have been the object of miraculous favor, and thus acquired the knowledge I have of your language, imperfect as it is, but without which, as I have said, my mission could have been of but little service to my country.

“Well, I left prison ; and that government which imprisoned me for publishing a mere record of facts, that government suggested the publication of a newspaper, because it thought that, being thus occupied writing my editorials under the iron hand of censorship (the censor taking care that no truth interfering with Austria should pass), I would not be able to employ my time in any other way. And, indeed, the hardest days of my life were when I sat reflecting how to obtain a passport from the censor to a single truth for free principles among my people. But, notwithstanding, the light of truth cannot be shut out. In three years my journal became the basis of future revolutions in Hungary. Then the Austrian government, seeing itself deluded, so managed that I lost my journal, and had no further opportunity to exercise my patriotic motives in that direction.

“Gentlemen, allow me to say a few words on the ancient institutions of Hungary. I have often heard it said that the people of Europe are incapable of self-government. Let me speak of the people of Hungary, to show whether they are capable of self-government or not. In thirty-six years, with God’s help, and through your generous aid, the free people of Hungary will celebrate the one-thousandth anniversary of the establishment of their home — the millennium of Hungary in Europe. Yes, gentlemen, may I hope that celebration will take place, under the blessings of liberty, in the year 1889 ? [Cheers.]

“It is a long period,— one thousand years,— and O ! how it has teemed with adversities to my people ! And yet, through this long time, amid all adversities, there was no period when the people of Hungary did not resist despotism. Our boast is, that through the vicissitudes of a thousand years, there was not a moment when the popular will and the legal authorities had sanctioned the rule of absolutism. And, gentlemen, what other people, for one thousand years, has not consented to be ruled by despotism ? [Cheers.] Even in the nineteenth century I am glad to look back to the wisdom of our fathers through a thousand years, who laid down the basis of Hungarian institutions, which for all eternity must remain true. This basis was upon that Latin proverb, *nil de nobis, sine nobis*, — ‘nothing about us,

without us.' That was so much as to claim that every man should have a full share in the sovereignty of the people, and a full share in the rights belonging to his nation. In other times, a theory was got up to convince the people that they ought to have a share in legislation, just to have the power to control that legislation, but denying the right of the people to control the executive power. The Hungarian people never adopted that theory. They ever claimed a full share in the executive, as in the legislative and judicial power. Out of this idea of government rose the municipal system of Hungary. In respect to Hungarian aristocracy, you must not consider it in the same light as the aristocracy of England. The word nobleman in Hungary originally was so much as soldier. Every man who defended his country was a nobleman [cheers], and every man who had a vote was called to defend his country. [Cheers.] I believe the duty of defending a man's country, and also political right, should be common. [Cheers.]

“After our people had conquered a home, the leaders took the lion's share, of course. But it should be considered that those who had the largest share of the property were compelled to furnish soldiers according to the extent of their possessions. Therefore such men gave a part of their land to the people to cultivate, and desired aid of them whenever the necessity for war came. So, all who defended their country were considered noblemen. Hungary was divided into fifty-two counties, but not counties like yours;—some of them were so populous as to be compared to your states, containing perhaps half a million or more of people; and those who became the aristocracy, in some of these counties, amounted to thirty-five thousand. In every county was a fortress; and, whenever defence became necessary, the rich men went into these fortresses under their own banner, and the others went under the king's colors, and were commanded by the sheriff of the county, who was like your governor,—at least, who was the chief of the executive. There were also certain cities raised to constitutional rights. A smaller city, surrounded by fortifications, or which was an important point, was represented in the Diet; whilst larger places, not points of importance for national defence, were represented but by the county delegates. Every place that had the elements of defence had political rights. So it came that the aristocracy were not a few men, but half a million. Before our revolution, I had contended to beat down this barrier of aristocracy. [Cheers.] Before the revolution, in municipal governments, only the nobility had a share,—they only were the men who could vote; but the change was easy. The frame of self-

government was ready. We had only to say the *people*, instead of the *nobility*, had the right to vote, and so we buried aristocracy never to be resurrected in one day. [Cheers.] Each county elected its representatives to the Diet, and had the right of intercourse with other counties, by means of letters, on all matters of importance to these counties; and therefore our fifty-two primary councils were work-shops for the development of public spirit. We elected our judiciary and executive, and the government had not a right to send instructions or orders to our executive; and, if an order came which was considered to be inconsistent with our constitutional rights, it was not sent to the executive, but to the council; and therefore the arbitrary orders of the government could not be executed, because they came not into the hands of the executive. Thus were our councils barriers to oppression.

“When the French took Saragossa, it was not enough to take the city — they had to take every house. So we went on; and, though some counties might accept the arbitrary orders of the government, some resisted, and, discussing in their letters to the other counties the points of right, enlightened them; and it was seen that, when the last house in Saragossa had been beaten down, the first stood erect again. [Cheers.] In consequence of the democratic nature of our institutions, our councils were our grand juries. But, after having elected our judges, we chose several men in every county meeting, of no public office, but conspicuous for their integrity and knowledge of the law, to assist the judges in the administration of the law.

“Believe me, these institutions had a sound basis, fit to protect a nation against arbitrary government, tending to centralization and oppression. Now, these counties having contended against the Austrian government, it did everything to destroy them. The great field was opened in the Diet of '47. Having been elected from the county of Pesth, I had the honor to lead the party devoted to national rights and opposed to centralization, and in defence of municipal authority. It was my intention to make it impossible that the government could encroach upon the liberties of the people. [Cheers.] We had the misfortune in Hungary to be governed by a constitutional king, who at the same time was the absolute monarch of another realm, by birth and interests attached to absolutism, and opposed to constitutional government. It was difficult to be an absolute monarch, and live the King of Hungary. There is on record a speech of mine, spoken in the Hungarian Diet, about the inconsistency of these two attributes in one man,—that either Austria must become constitutional, or Hungary absolut-

istical. That speech made the revolution of '48 at Vienna. After this revolution, I was sent to Vienna to ask that the laws we had passed, releasing the people from feudal burdens, might be confirmed, and demanding a constitutional ministry. Then it was a circumstance occurred to which I heard an allusion in the toast offered to me. I was told the king would grant our request, but there was agitation in Vienna, and it would look as if the king had yielded to a pressure; if the people would be quiet, the king would sanction our laws. Then I said that if the king would give our laws the required sanction, peace would be made for the house of Austria in twenty-four hours. But, when that consent was given in one chamber, in another chamber that wicked woman, Sophia, the mother of the present emperor, who calls himself King of Hungary,—no, he does not call himself King of Hungary, for he thinks the national existence of Hungary is blotted out,—plotted how to ruin my people, and destroy that sanction, which was nothing but the sanction of a just cause. Next came the Hungarian ministry; and, strange to say, I saw myself placed nearest the throne. Here I must mention two circumstances not yet recorded in history.

“When in Vienna, after the sanction was granted, and steps taken to retract it, I went to the Archduke Stephen, the Palatine of Hungary, the first constitutional authority of Hungary, the elective viceroy, and told him he should return to Hungary, if he wished to preserve his influence.

“He answered that he could not return to Hungary; for, if the king did not sanction our laws, he (the Archduke Stephen) might be proclaimed king, instead of the Emperor of Austria, and he would never dethrone his cousin.

“I answered that he spoke like an honest man; but, perhaps, the time would come when he would find an empty seat on that throne, and he had better take it; for I could assure him, if he did not, no other man ever would, with the consent of the people. When, five months later, in Hungary, we met for the last time, he called me to his house on a stormy night, and desired of me to know what would be the issue of matters in Hungary. I answered, I could see no issue for him, only the crown or the scaffold, and then for the people a republic. ‘But even from this alternative I will relieve you,’ I said to him; ‘for you the crown, for me the scaffold, if Hungarian independence is not achieved.’ I take no hesitation here to confess, that such was the embarrassed state of Hungarian affairs, that I would have felt satisfied for him to have accepted the crown. Remember that your fathers did

not design at first to sever the ties which bound the colonies to England, but circumstances forced the issue. - So it was with us. We asked at first only democratic institutions; but, when it was possible, we were glad to throw away our kings. [Cheers.]

“The Archduke did not accept, but was rather a traitor to his country. Such is the connection of tyrants with each other, they desire not to prevent others from oppressing. He is now an exile, like myself. If he had accepted, no doubt the independence of Hungary would have been recognized by even Russia, especially if he had formed a family alliance with that despotism; and then for centuries the establishment of a republic would have been impossible, whereas now, as sure as there is a God in heaven, no king will ever rule Hungary; but it must be one of those republics wherein republicanism is not a mere romance, but a reality, founded upon the basis of municipal authorities to which the people are attached. We could never have such a movement as disgraced France in December. [Cheers.]

“The second fact in my life is an evidence that to honest hearts and iron wills some field is ever open to do good to our fellow-men. Thrown back into private life, I just considered how to do good to my country through the field of social development; and I established associations to promote agricultural interests, commerce, public education, &c. The government, believing that in whatever I did there must be some political intention, while the mass of the people were attracted to these associations, interfered, and would not allow the people of Hungary to do good for their nation in these associations; hence, from coming together to promote industry, they became also my brethren in a political aspect. [Cheers.] Thus, when the government intended to check my influence, it gave me that popularity by which I was able to do what I have done for my country.

“Allow me to say one word for these associations. I take political economy for a science not exactly like mathematics. It is quite a practical thing, depending upon circumstances, but in certain proceedings a negative principle exists. In political economy it is not good for the people that a prohibitory system be adopted. Protection may sometimes be of service to a nation, but prohibition never.

“Now, by an absurd prohibitory system, Hungary was excluded from the commerce of the whole world, and was obliged by Austria to pay a high price for bad goods. The consumption of cotton alone, in Hungary, amounted to nine and a half millions of dollars per annum. It was not possible to receive it through France or Belgium; and upon

every hundred-weight was fifty-five dollars import duty, which compelled the Hungarians to pay one hundred dollars for what they could buy here for forty-six dollars. That condition did not benefit Austrian labor, because a prohibitory system is never a benefit. Protection may be, for a certain time; but never to extend further than to make an equilibrium, where circumstances exist that cannot be controlled by human intellect and human industry. Wherever protection goes over to a prohibitory system, there industry never develops. Such was the condition in Hungary. The people had no interest in progress. What was the motive for this policy of the government? It was because the Austrian courtiers were not able to draw as much money out of Hungary as they desired, although six or eight or ten millions passed into the hands of the courtiers' every year, only to oppress nations; — still it was not enough, and because we continued to resist, they insured a monopoly of trade to Austrian merchants. In that condition of affairs, the Legislature of Hungary proposed a tariff to Austria beneficial to the people, and not noxious to Austria; but the government vetoed it.

“I am always looking to your history; and I thought then of what Franklin told the American people, to wear their old clothes till they could make new out of their own industry. [Cheers.] The Hungarians established associations to protect home industry, by refraining from buying Austrian goods. In such a way we went on to do as much good as we could; and, indeed, I was glad to see how my people had natural capacity, not only to maintain their rights on the battlefield, but to understand other matters, — and how they took such a start to defend their rightful privileges.

“Gentlemen, one thing I especially desire to speak of in Boston, where, notwithstanding the intelligence and republican spirit of the people, a voice has been raised to declare that the war in Hungary was a war between races. Allow me to say a few words on this matter, although the voice to which I refer has been successfully answered by intellect and knowledge among yourselves.

“In the year 1000 King Stephen wrote a political testament, wherein he declared that no country could securely exist where the people spoke but one language. It is a curious fact, and I mention it to show why in Hungary never did exist rivalry and hostility to the introduction of foreign languages.

“Having determined to convert the people of Hungary to Christianity, King Stephen invited the Roman Catholic priests of Germany

to help him. Hungary, after some little resistance, became Christian; but those who had assisted Stephen, looking naturally a little to their own interest, invited their countrymen to come to Hungary, and desired that certain privileges should be secured them; and they so managed the system that all the power came through their hands. They succeeded to persuade King Stephen to introduce Latin as the diplomatic language of Hungary, because the best-educated Hungarians did not know a single word of Latin; only the Roman Catholic clergy from Germany and Italy understood it. By and by, the aristocracy learned it; but the mass of the people, not brought up to be Latin and Greek scholars, but only good citizens, were excluded from public concerns, and so the power was concentrated in the hands of the priests and nobility. Therefore, we were led to say that the Latin language should not longer be used in our Legislature, but that a living language should take its place. Now, there were different languages spoken in Hungary; but by Hungarians what was more natural than that they should desire the Hungarian language to be fixed as the legislative, the national language? The Magyars were equal in numbers to almost all the rest of the people, and twice as numerous as those speaking any other dialect.

“Now, gentlemen, this is quite your condition in the United States, composed of millions speaking different languages;—still nobody ever heard it was oppression that in Congress and in the State Legislatures the German language is not spoken. The only difference from us is, that we found the Latin language ruling, and had to say which language should take its place; while you had, without question, to adopt the language you found ruling, because it is a living language, and the people understanding it, they are not excluded from a participation in public concerns.

“But it is false to say there was the slightest difference made between the Slavonian, Magyar, or German, or Wallach people. Already King Stephen had introduced the fashion; and whoever would look back to books would find that nine-tenths of the titled nobility were foreigners, and the aristocracy numbered only five hundred thousand, while the Magyars were at least six millions; therefore, gentlemen, the only distinction in political rights was nobility, not Magyar or Slavonian. There were amongst the Germans, Wallachians and Slavonians, large numbers of nobles, and amongst the Magyars many who had no political rights. Every race had the same

political rights; and by the revolution all the people, of whatever language, had not only equal rights before the law, but in politics.

“When Ban Jellacic rose against us, if the Croats had fought for nationality, they would not have invaded Hungary to establish the absolutism of the house of Hapsburg. The basis of Ban Jellacic’s military reputation was always to be beaten; but, when we had beaten him, we did not enter Croatia,—we did not intend to conquer it, even though we had the right. We told the Croatians, ‘If you will not be connected with us, God bless you! We can be good neighbors.’ It was our intention to restore all the people to freedom, civil as well as religious. [Cheers.]

“Excuse me, gentlemen, if I abuse your kindness. [Cries of “Go on! go on!”] I did not intend to make a long speech, and it would have no interest to you, if you have not sympathy with my cause. It is not necessary for me to contribute to that interest, but it is a satisfaction to the poor exile to show how just is the cause he pleads. I claim no other merit, but only to speak the sentiments of my people, to be a reflection of their hopes and purposes. [Cheers.] I am anxious to make known my ideas upon the future organization of my people. [Cries of “Go on! go on!”] Well, gentlemen, that organization we propose is founded upon the sovereignty of the people, not only in a legislative capacity, because it is not enough that we show that sovereignty by casting a vote once in three or four years; we must feel it every day, everywhere.

“The sovereignty of the people claims that men have certain rights, not depending from any power, because they are natural rights. I mean such as religious liberty, free thought, a free press, and the right of every family to regulate its own affairs; but not only every family,—every town, city and county. Now, our Hungarian sovereignty shall be such that the higher government will have no power to interfere in the domestic concerns of any town, city or county. These are the principles upon which our government shall be founded; principles of popular sovereignty, not only in legislation, but a particular share in the executive department of government. These are the principles which we have upheld for a thousand years, and which we always, by the help of God, will uphold. Judge whether such a people is worthy to meet the sympathy of republicans like you, who have shown to the world the capability to be powerful without centralization! [Cheers.] Believe me, there is harmony in our ancient principles and yours. Judge whether my people is capable of self-government! [Cheers.]

“I entreat you to have faith in my people; a life of one thousand years is no child’s play, especially through all that time to conserve constitutional government, and some vitality of popular sovereignty. We have had many revolutions, and many men who have been great instrumentalities for humanity; but Hungary never met an ambitious man to whom it gave its confidence. Therefore, when victorious, our glorious leaders laid down their swords and went home. [Cheers.] Great power was never concentrated in one hand, because power was not centralized. Never Hungary gave its entire confidence, and was betrayed. Of course, I don’t speak of those to whom the pressure of circumstances, and not the confidence of the people, had given a momentary power. Look at France.—it has tried every form of government, but, placing its confidence in men who were ambitious, they destroyed its rights. Why? They kept in a centralizing direction; and centralization always leads to despotism. [Cheers.] But I may entreat you not to despair for France. Now there is an iron grasp upon it; but the very fact that centralization, the result of the fatal propensity to military glory, led to such an inglorious issue, will cure the people of that fatal principle. The passion for military glory has given birth to that fatal idea of France, that it must have a strong government, when, indeed, the strongest government is that which does not mix with the domestic concerns of the people, but only takes care that their interests be not interfered with, and their rights violated [cheers],—quite contrary to the notion of certain philosophers, that the people are not fit for participation in the executive or judiciary, and that popular representation has but to redress the grievances and check the encroachments of the executive.

“Look now at that interesting fact in Louis Napoleon’s course, that he is forced by circumstances to do step by step what is but necessary that France may become strictly republican. Louis Napoleon, out of the consideration not to see power centralized in the ministry or the assembly, begins to decentralize power from Paris, that it may not turn hostile against him. See how a bad purpose, without our will, becomes an instrumentality for freedom [cheers], which God in his mercy will not forbid the French people! Just so, gentlemen, as the Austrian government, when it thought to deprive me of influence, became, in the providence of God, the means for me to get more influence, and to do some good to my people. [Cheers.]

“Gentlemen, I may hope these few remarks will serve to increase among you the conviction that my people are capable of self-govern-

ment. It is true a nation should never act out of sympathy, but out of regard to its own interests. What are the interests of the United States now? Can it be indifferent to the condition of Europe? When in Asia and on the Mediterranean, it must meet Russia, which now in Europe, Hungary being crushed, has no power to check it, because, by the invasion of Hungary, it has overthrown the balance of power in Europe. That America should give its voice to restore this balance of power, is not against the principles of Washington, but only against the policy of 1793; and policy, being the science of exigencies, to be wise, not only can but must change according to the change of exigencies, whereas principles are lasting. [Cheers.] I know you get instruction out of history to support the principles and to revere the character of Washington. But, gentlemen, what was principle, and what policy, in the late war with England? Let me mention one thing, to show how policy may change. Once you paid a tribute to the Dey of Algiers, by consent of Congress. That was good policy, and Washington recommended it. But now you know when Decatur, of immortal memory, was sent to the Dey of Algiers to redress the grievances of America, the Dey did not demand more tribute, but, in order to yield with a good grace, he requested the commodore to give him a little powder. Decatur answered him, 'Yes, sir; you shall have the powder, but only with the balls.' [Cheers.] And it came to nobody's mind that Decatur was opposing the doctrine of Washington, because he would by balls defend the commerce of America. This very circumstance shows the fallacy of the doctrine, that the policy of one time is the policy of another time. I would not say that the policy of wise Washington should be hastily abandoned; but I would ask that the exigencies of the present time be not disregarded, because different from the circumstances of a former time, when the people were not and could not have been aware of the exigencies of the present. [Cheers.]

"The venerable gentleman [Josiah Quincy] spoke a word about England. I believe the Anglo-Saxon race must have a high destiny in the history of mankind. It is the only race the younger brother of which is free, while the elder brother has also some freedom. You, gentlemen, acknowledge that from the mother country you obtained certain of your principles of liberty,—free thought and speech, a free press, &c.,—and I am sure, gentlemen, the English people are proud of liberty. Called to pronounce against the league of despots, the

republican United States and constitutional England in concord, what would be the consequence?

“I answer, as when the South American republic was threatened,—as when Russia forbade American vessels to approach within a hundred miles of its American shores,—such as was your conduct in those cases, such should be your conduct now, and such, also, would be the consequences. The despots would not dare to advance.

“I have often met, in the United States, an objection against an alliance with England; but it is chiefly the Irish who are opposed to being on good terms with England. In respect to my being in the United States, as regards the Irish, if I could contribute one line more to the future unity in action of the United States and England, I should more aid the Irish than by all exclamations against one or the other. With the United States and England in union, the continent of Europe would be republican. [Cheers.] Then, though England remained monarchical, Ireland would be more free than it is now. If I were an Irishman, I would not have raised the standard of repeal, which offended the people of England, but the standard of municipal self-government, against parliamentary omnipotence; not as an Irish question, but as a common question to all; and in this movement all the people of England and Scotland would have joined, and there now would have been a Parliament in England, in Ireland, and Scotland. Such is the geographical position of Great Britain that its countries should be not one, but united; each with its own Parliament, but still one Parliament for all. [Cheers.] If I could contribute to get England to oppose the encroachments of absolutism, I would be doing more to aid Ireland, because aiding freedom, than to induce England to look indifferently at the approach of absolutism. I was glad to hear the words of that venerable gentleman [Josiah Quincy]; they brought to my mind the words of John Adams, first minister of the United States to England. When he addressed the king, he said, ‘*He would be happy could he restore entire esteem, confidence, and affection, between the United States and England;*’ and King George III. replied, ‘*I was the last to conform to the separation, and I am the first to meet the friendship of the United States. Let the communities of language, religion and blood, have their full and natural effect.*’

“Let this precedent, belonging to the intelligence not of to-day only, but derived from the days when your people took the lead, not only in, but, I am happy to say, through, the Revolution,—let these words

become now considered of particular interest to both countries, and it would be of the greatest benefit to mankind. There is nothing more necessary to secure the freedom of Europe than consent to act together on the part of the United States and England.

“It is not necessary to say how far they will go; but only necessary to say they will do as much as their interests allow, and will do what may be necessary to insure that the law of nations should be protected, and not abandoned.

“When I was in England, nothing gave me more delight than to hear delegations addressing me mention your Washington, and confess themselves sorry that he had to manifest his greatness in contending against England. But they were more proud to see the greatness of such a man than not to be opposed by him. They intrusted me to bring word to the United States that they wished to be united with you for the benefit of all humanity. [Cheers.]

“I was charged particularly by one hundred men, connected with commerce at Manchester, the least wealthy of whom was worth, as they express it in England, ten thousand pounds a year,—they say Englishmen are weighed by their money—I don’t know how it is here—[laughter]; but these gentlemen told me it would be a great result of my mission in the United States, if I could convince Americans that Englishmen thought all differences had vanished, and they desired to go hand in hand with the people of the United States as regards foreign policy. Now, I have observed that in New England there is less objection to the policy of an alliance with England than in many other parts of the United States; and I take it for an evidence of the intelligence and liberality of the people.

“I hope, gentlemen, I have not too much taken your time. [Cries of “O, no!” “Go on!” “Go on!”] I have not been eloquent; I intended not to be eloquent; only justly true. I cannot express to you better my thanks, gentlemen, than in those memorable words of John Adams to Attorney-general Sewall,—‘*Sink or swim, survive or perish, but with my country.*’ [Enthusiastic cheers.]

“I know, gentlemen, you have been pleased to honor me, not for myself,—for the people of Massachusetts are not man-worshippers, but only reverence principles,—therefore I cannot better express my thanks than to pledge my word, relying, as on another occasion of deep interest I have said, *upon the justice of our cause, the blessing of God, iron wills, stout arms, and good swords*, and upon your generous sympathy, to do all in my power, with my people, for my

country and for humanity; for which, indeed, in my heart, though it is somewhat old, there is yet warmth.”

The above is little more than a sketch of this great speech, of which, indeed, it would have been nearly impossible to have made a full and accurate report. Kossuth spoke, extemporaneously, for two hours and a half, with the most wonderful ease and animation, pouring forth an unbroken stream of historical and personal narrative, and of political argument, which held the company enchained, to an unusually late hour, so completely, that very many persons from neighboring towns preferred to miss the last train of cars, and remain all night in Boston, rather than lose any portion of his speech. Nothing could be more exquisite than the grace of Kossuth's action and demeanor, while speaking. He appeared to feel perfectly at home; and, indeed, though the company embraced the widest diversity of opinion on the subject of non-intervention, the applause was frequently entirely unanimous.

The sixth toast was :

“Hungary: Down-trodden and oppressed, she has proved herself worthy to be free by the virtue and valor of her sons. Justice and the law of nations demand for her fair play, in her struggle for independence.”

M. Pulszky was called upon to respond, which he did in the following manner :

PULSZKY'S SPEECH.

“GENTLEMEN: It is with pleasure that I rise to acknowledge the proposed sentiment, because it reminds me of the glorious moment when it first was uttered. It was the Hon. William R. King, the senator of Alabama, the President of the Senate, the cautious, well-tried statesman, who, at the Congressional banquet in Washington, greeted Governor Kossuth with those very words, which embody all we require from the United States,—fair play, neither more nor less. We don't want the United States to take up arms for us; we are able to fight our enemy single-handed, without foreign aid. We do not require even so much as the great sons of Massachusetts, Benjamin Franklin and John Adams, got from France; we require but that the United States should grant us fair play. Will they do it? Will the august body whose president gave us such hopes fulfil them? I have seen a great part of the Union, from the shores of the Atlantic to the banks of the Missouri, from the lakes to the Gulf of Mexico; and

everywhere the warm-hearted people greeted us with affectionate sympathy. But many a politician told us openly, 'We feel sincere interest in the cause of European liberty; we should be happy if the land of our forefathers, the Old World, could enjoy the blessings of liberty; but Europe is unfit for freedom; the nations are at the feet of despots, who, for their own sake, will protect their material prosperity, and maintain peace and order necessary for the development of wealth, commerce, and industry. All the efforts of Kossuth are but galvanizing a dead corpse, and without any possibility of success; they will ruin him, and those who associate their fate to his enterprise. He says that two millions of dollars would be sufficient to carry out his designs. Had we but the conviction that two millions would secure liberty to the continent of Europe, we would raise them in a month. What are two millions, for a people like ours? But we have no faith in the establishment of liberty in Europe; we must therefore give a cold shoulder to him, and discourage the sympathies of the people, which cannot be of avail. Despotism is rampant in Europe; and we must try to make the best of it, though our heart is deeply moved by Kossuth's patriotism and eloquence.'

"This is the policy of many an influential man; and, having given this tone, their underlings are going on to attack the governor personally with calumnies and misrepresentations, whilst even the Austrian court-martial is not so mean as to attack his personal character. Well, I cannot impart faith to those who have none, although they know faith can move mountains. But my faith in the future of my country is unshakable, because I have drawn it from the pure fountain of knowledge,—from history. Hungary ever has been the soil of the martyrs and the land of the free; and, whenever our enemies succeeded in fettering us, we always broke the chains asunder. Our fathers had already armed themselves to resist the encroachments of the Emperor Joseph, when he retracted his unlawful orders. Our grandfathers bled for liberty under Rakoczky, and their fathers and grandfathers had driven back the double-faced eagle,—this emblem of the double-faced policy of Vienna,—as often as it dived through the air on Hungary, to feast upon its liberty, believing her dead because subdued for a moment.

"You know the history of Robert Bruce. Defeated and humbled down by his enemies, fleeing before them, concealed in a rock cave, he saw a spider climbing up the uneven wall, to reach the spot where it was to spread its net. Six times it fell down from the rocky surface,

but the seventh time it reached its aim. This was a lesson for the despondent Bruce. The spider taught him one word,—*again*, and ever *again*,—and he freed his country. And *again*, and ever *again*, is our motto, too, gentlemen; and Bruce's spider is the emblem of Hungary's perseverance.

“But it is not only the vitality of the Hungarian nation which imparts to us the strength of unshakable faith. It is the growing sentiment of the solidarity of nations which pervades mankind. The isolation of old, when every nation fought for herself, and regarded liberty as her exclusive privilege, has given way to the conviction that liberty is like the air which we breathe,—the common necessity for whole humanity, which, if impaired in one quarter by the pestilential exhalations of despotism, carries destruction everywhere, all over the nations bound by the sacred tie of Christian civilization; and the people of America feel instinctively this law of moral nature, or what else could be the reason of the great lesson which even this banquet, here in Faneuil Hall, gives to the despots of the earth? Whilst, in ancient times, the conqueror was led in triumph through the capital of the world, and the vanquished chiefs had to pass under the ignominious yoke, it is now the victor for whom public opinion has raised the yoke of ignominy, and the vanquished is led to the capital, and receives the acclamations of the people. To the conqueror, the spoils, the curse of the present, oblivion forever; to the vanquished, the laurels, the blessings of the nations, the destinies of the future. [Cheers.]

“Gentlemen, allow me to offer a sentiment.

“America: As good in her deeds as in her words,—securing fair play to Hungary.”

The seventh toast was:

“Austria: May her double-headed eagles peck out each other's eyes, so that they may never again gloat on the blood-stained mountains and plains of Hungary!”

The eighth:

“Turkey: Her noble hospitality, extended to the Hungarian chief, even at the imminent risk of war, shames the timid Christian nations which hesitate to profess the principle upon which she acted.”

The ninth:

“The Press: The first weapon which Kossuth wielded against Austrian despotism. With that he roused his countrymen, not only

to defend their own rights, but to respect the rights of others. The journalists of free America should hail him as a brother, and support him as the great champion of free thought, free speech, a free press, and a free world.”

Colonel Schouler, of the Boston Atlas, responded to this sentiment in a strain of eloquent remark, which was loudly cheered; and Elizur Wright, of the Commonwealth, being called on for a sentiment, said he felt thankful for an opportunity to unbosom his heart by a word, and that word he closed by the following sentiment:

“The War that is Coming: The friends of liberty in Europe are ready to furnish the muscle and the life; surely those in America cannot refuse to furnish the saltpetre and the steel.”

The tenth:

“Gorgey and Arnold: The one trusted by Kossuth, and the other by Washington. Alike traitors to their chiefs and their country, and alike condemned by the united voice of the world.”

The eleventh:

“Lafayette and Kosciusko: They remind us of the debt due from the United States to the cause of liberty in the Old World.”

The twelfth:

“Intervention: That which rescued Lafayette from the prison of Olmutz, and Kossuth from the grasp of the Russian bear, is in accordance with the ‘higher law’ of nations, and worthy of all commendation.”

The thirteenth:

“Madame Kossuth: Her sufferings and her devotion show her to be eminently worthy to be a martyr to her father-land, and the companion of her illustrious husband.”

The fourteenth:

“The House of Representatives: The record of its welcome to the great champion of liberty is but the consecrated and harmonious voice of its free, enlightened, and generous constituency. *Vox Populi, vox Dei.*”

The fifteenth:

“Woman: In the language of our illustrious guest, the heart of

man is as soft as wax in her tender hand. May she mould it into the form of generous compassion for the wrongs of Hungary !”

Volunteer, by W. T. Coggshall :

“ ‘Freedom Shrieked when Kosciusko Fell.’ More piercing would be its shriek, should Kossuth fall as Kosciusko did. May that fatal hour never come, is the earnest prayer of every friend of freedom !”

General Wilson having called on Judge E. R. Hoar, of Concord, that gentleman responded as follows :

JUDGE HOAR'S SPEECH.

“To those of us whose ordinary duties are connected with the administration of wholesome laws, under a good government, and whose function it is to restrain the excesses of liberty, rather than to vindicate its existence, there is something hardly familiar in the occasion and the purposes of this evening. But, Mr. President, a man who was born by the old North Bridge of Concord, whose fathers stood there in arms, must be recreant to all the memories and to all the principles of his birthplace and his lineage, if he would not hasten to extend the hand of sympathy and welcome to the guest of to-night.

“There have been many pageants in our time, many proud days for our people and our state. The elder part of this assembly can recall to mind the reception of the Father of his Country by the people he had saved. Those of us who have reached middle life can remember the triumphal progress of Lafayette. We have often received to our hospitality the great men of our own and of other lands, and have thronged to greet with hurrahs men high in official station, the possessors and dispensers of place and power. We are very proud of our old commonwealth. But, dear as she is to us, I think nothing ever made me feel more proud of her than what I have seen during the past week. Never did the heart and the spirit of her people show forth more fairly than in lavishing her highest honors upon an exile, who came to her, from disaster and defeat, with the one sufficient claim to welcome,—that to the cause of liberty — his cause and our cause — he had been faithful to the end.

“Mr. President, there are heights of fame to which no living man may aspire. To an American heart, there are memories too consecrated, there is one name too transcendent, for parallel or comparison ; but there are events in our history which rise with a vivid distinctness

in a presence like this. Two men were excepted, by name, from General Gage's proclamation of amnesty,—notorious rebels, who had sinned beyond hope of pardon, and 'whose offences were of too flagitious a nature to admit of any other consideration than that of condign punishment.'

“I would say to our illustrious guest, It is because you, sir, like them, have learned the truth that peace is the first interest of no people; that there are other things more sacred than human life; that without justice and freedom life is only a mockery, and peace a delusion and a burden;—it is because, when tyranny had terminated every duty of a subject, you, too, have dared to become the *most notorious rebel* of our time, that Massachusetts welcomes you to the home of Hancock and of Adams, and the majestic spirit of Washington sheds its benediction upon the scene!”

Brief speeches were made by Messrs. Hopkins, Burlingame and Keyes, and, after a few closing remarks by President Wilson, Kossuth left the hall at half-past twelve o'clock, amid the enthusiastic cheering of the company.

KOSSUTH AT BUNKER HILL.

WHEN it was known with certainty that Kossuth was about to visit Massachusetts, the Mayor of Charlestown, Hon. Richard Frothingham, Jr., sent the following communication to the Council of that city :

City of Charlestown, April 19, 1852.

GENTLEMEN OF THE CITY COUNCIL : It is expected that Governor Louis Kossuth, in a few days, will visit Massachusetts. His noble nature, his illustrious services in the cause of Hungarian independence, his continued fidelity to his native land, must excite the admiration, command the respect, and win the sympathy, of the friends of republican liberty ; while the enormous violation of international law by despotic power by which so just a cause was crushed will ever be condemned and deplored by an American public opinion. It is fit that so true a representative of the liberal cause of Europe should be heartily welcomed to Bunker Hill ; and I respectfully recommend that measures be taken to tender to him the hospitalities of this city.

RICHARD FROTHINGHAM, JR., *Mayor.*

The board of Mayor and Aldermen of Charlestown voted to give Kossuth an official invitation to visit the city ; but the Common Council refused to concur, by a vote of nine to six. A public meeting of the citizens was, in consequence, called at the City Hall on Tuesday night, April 27, of which the following is the official account :

CITIZENS' KOSSUTH MEETING.

The call for a meeting of those citizens in favor of extending to Kossuth an invitation to visit this city was enthusiastically responded to, and a large audience assembled. The meeting was called to order by P. J. Stone, Esq., and his honor the Mayor was chosen president, Jacob Foss, Charles Thompson and Moses B. Sewall, vice-presidents, and Edward Thorndike and Warren Rand, secretaries.

A committee was chosen, consisting of Messrs. Stone, Holmes, Fairbanks, Clark, Gage and Briggs, to retire for the purpose of selecting a committee of arrangements, to invite Kossuth to the city, and make

all necessary preparations for his reception. The committee retired, and, after an absence of thirty minutes, returned and reported the names of the following gentlemen, thirty-eight in number :

Richard Frothingham, Jr., Henry P. Fairbanks, Jacob Foss, James Damon, P. B. Holmes, Oliver Smith, Thomas J. Elliott, J. Q. A. Griffin, P. S. Briggs, Aaron Clarke, 2d, Edward Lawrence, P. J. Stone, S. H. Allen, Philander Ames, James G. Fuller, G. B. Albee, T. T. Sawyer, Geo. P. Sanger, S. W. Lewis, S. J. Thomas, Edward Thorndike, Wm. W. Pierce, Z. C. Howland, Jesse Stevens, John Sanborn, Wm. Williams, A. S. Tuttle, A. J. Locke, Ezra Brown, George P. Kettell, Charles Thompson, George W. Warren, Timothy Fletcher, Moses B. Sewall, Thomas Greenleaf, Addison Gage, Ichabod Lindsey, Jesse Gay.

J. Q. A. Griffin, Esq., was called to the stand, and read the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted :

“ *Resolved*, That we assemble to-night to promulgate no new doctrine, to achieve no new purpose, to stimulate to no new action ; but that we come together to reäffirm the principles which Bunker Hill for more than three-quarters of a century has so nobly claimed relationship with, and which have ever found a residence in the bosoms of her sons.

“ *Resolved*, That the advent to New England of the Hungarian governor, illustrious not less by his enlarged learning and comprehensive mind, than by his signal services for freedom and the republican principle, is an *opportunity* which a free people should seize upon with alacrity for the exercise of a magnanimous hospitality, in order that they may testify to the struggling nations of the earth, wherever they may exist, that their attachment is to the *principle*, and not simply to the *name*, of freedom.

“ *Resolved*, That in the Hungarian governor, though he comes to us from a distant land, heralded by his great achievements in the almost forlorn cause of his country's freedom, and persecuted by the machinations of the enemies of both his country and his cause, we recognize one whom no nation can claim as its own, but who is the common property of mankind ; and of him can properly be said, as of him whose blood first moistened our soil in our own great contest for republican liberty, that ‘ wheresoever among men a heart shall be found that beats to the transports of patriotism and liberty, its aspirations shall be to claim kindred with thy spirit.’

“ *Resolved*, That to those who spurn the Hungarian and his cause,

to those whose policy towards him is marked by niggardly ill will and contracted prejudices, to those who seal up their sympathies and resist the natural promptings of their hearts agreeably to the behests of faction, we commend the sentiment of that mighty giant in the world of mind, Daniel Webster : ‘That the cause which they have espoused *finds no basis in their own hearts, no succor from public sympathy, no cheering from a patriotic community. They have no foothold on which to stand. Everything beneath their feet is hollow and treacherous.* They are like one struggling in a morass ; every effort to extricate themselves will only sink them deeper and deeper. And we fear the resemblance may be carried still further ; we fear that no friend can safely come to their relief ; that no one can approach near enough to hold out a helping hand, without danger of going himself down into the bottomless depths of the Serbonian bog.’

“*Resolved,* That we, the people of Charlestown, speaking in behalf of ourselves and those whom we represent, unhesitatingly declare it as the sentiment of that people, that Governor Kossuth represents a nation entitled to the most genial sympathy of all friends of republican institutions, and all enemies of aristocratic tyranny ; and we repudiate, as an unholy thing, the cowardly policy which attempts to depress the friends of freedom, by withholding from them that expression of respect which he so nobly merits, by reason of his extraordinary position on the theatre of the world’s action.

“*Resolved,* That this assembly extends its warmest welcome to the Hungarian chief, and earnestly invites him to the acceptance of the hospitalities of the PEOPLE of Charlestown. It asks him to accept the heartfelt thanks of all earnest souls for his magnanimous deeds, as expressed, not through frigid committees or municipal corporations, but from the *hearts* of the *whole* people. It invites him to Middlesex county, the earliest and most illustrious battle-field of our own Revolution ; to a view of its industry, its enterprise, its intelligence ; the legitimate fruits of that system of government which that illustrious man has struggled so mightily to secure in his own land. It invites him to that shaft which marks the spot where Warren fell, and Prescott and Putnam fought, for that freedom which protects and governs us. And, finally, it invites him to these scenes cordially and enthusiastically, because it believes that in him the republican principle which has made our country great and glorious among the nations of the earth has a brave, determined, and able defender.”

After the reading of the resolves, remarks were made by Messrs. Lindsey and Griffin, and the meeting adjourned at ten o'clock.

In compliance with the invitation of this public meeting, Kossuth visited Charlestown on Monday, the 3d of May.

At an early hour in the morning, the stars and stripes were displayed upon the tops of all the public buildings. Many private dwellings and places of business were decorated with national bunting. Flags and pendants, floating, and in well-arranged festoons, were suspended across many of the streets. At the Middlesex House, the Hungarian and Turkish flags were prominently displayed, with that of the United States.

The Mansion House made a fine display. The building was decorated with a variety of bunting. Over the front entrance, upon an arch of white ground, were the following words: "KOSSUTH, THE TRUE EXPOUNDER OF UNIVERSAL LIBERTY."

The City Hall was decked in national flags.

The Charlestown Advertiser office was most brilliantly dressed out in flags of various nations. Flags and festooned pennants were flung across the street, and danced proudly in the breeze.

Across Main-street, near the junction of Harvard-street, a profusion of flags and pendants were suspended. In the centre was a banner, upon which was a representation of the monument. Above the design were the following words: "KOSSUTH, THE DEVOTED FRIEND OF HUNGARY." Beneath,— "ALL NATIONS SHALL BE FREE."

At various places along the route through which the procession was to pass, were decorations of wreaths, festoons and flags, and frequently inscriptions of "WELCOME TO KOSSUTH."

At ten o'clock a deputation of gentlemen from the Charlestown committee of arrangements proceeded to the Revere House in carriages, and, upon being introduced to Kossuth, conducted him to a barouche without, drawn by four splendid bays. Kossuth was accompanied by Messrs. Pulszky and Hajnik, by Captains Kalapsza and Grechenek; also by the Hon. Anson Burlingame, of the State Committee.

The cortege immediately proceeded to Charlestown, the draw of Warren Bridge being the line, where Kossuth was received by Mayor Frothingham, chairman of the committee of arrangements, a battalion of military, consisting of the Charlestown Artillery and the City Guards, Capt. George P. Sanger commanding.

At this point, Mr. Burlingame, in behalf of the State Committee,

resigned his charge to Mayor Frothingham and H. P. Fairbanks, Esq., president of the Common Council, as the guest of the people of Charlestown. The procession then took up its line of march, and proceeded through the principal streets of the city, to Monument-square, on Breed's Hill. The streets along the route were thronged with people, who greeted Kossuth with hearty cheers, as he passed. The windows and doors of every dwelling were crowded with ladies, whose "welcome to Kossuth" sparkled from their bright eyes, while thousands of white handkerchiefs were waved in honor of the illustrious Magyar. Against the west side of the monument was erected an immense platform, upon which, at an early hour, were seated about one hundred ladies, the wives and daughters of the committee of arrangements.

Flags of all nations were suspended from the top of the monument to the iron fence on the north and south, forming a pyramid; and from each window at its top was displayed the flag of the United States.

In order to afford opportunities to see the localities, the route of the procession was by Bunker Hill, over which Prescott and his patriot band passed on their way to Breed's Hill. Throughout the route, Kossuth made minute and intelligent inquiries as to the localities. In answer, he was pointed to places where the various batteries fired on the town; was halted where the great British fort was planted on Bunker Hill, and again where the rail fence ran to the Mystic river; and from the summit of this hill he eagerly inquired the position of the American army, as it for so many months lay on the heights around Boston. "The army in Boston ten months, and never made one sally!" was his exclamation of surprise. He remarked that the American "Yankee Doodle" was an old familiar tune of father-land,—that of the Hungarian *esarda* of its popular dances.

From the scene of the gallant resistance at the rail fence, he passed to the site of the redoubt, when he remarked, with feeling and admiration, on the cool bearing of the noble Prescott. He enjoyed highly the loud huzzas of welcome from a cordon of fifteen hundred children of the schools arranged on the banks of the Monument-square; but when, passing the ranks of the fine battalion, he ascended the platform, amidst the sound of patriotic music, the firing of cannon, the ringing of the bells, the waving of flags from the monument, and saw nearly the entire area in front of him completely packed with the multitude, and heard their huzzas, he expressed his admiration and joy at the spectacle. The scene was one of beauty and grandeur. Not less than fifteen thousand persons were gathered round the platform, from which

Kossuth could see not only the assemblage he was about to address, but the decorated city beneath, and the neighboring metropolis, with its girdle of populous towns and cities. At twelve o'clock, the mayor addressed Kossuth as follows :

MAYOR FROTHINGHAM'S ADDRESS.

“GOVERNOR KOSSUTH: In behalf of the citizens of Charlestown, I bid you a cordial welcome to this memorable place.

“We stand on America's classic ground. The waters that flow beneath us, and every hill-top and valley that spread out in a beautiful amphitheatre around us, have their story of the men who perilled and suffered for the cause of freedom. [Cheers.] Here was fought the first great battle of the war of the Revolution; there [pointing to Cambridge], near the shades of our venerable Harvard, Washington stood when he first drew his sword in that great struggle; on yonder summit [pointing to Prospect Hill], when our old thirteen colonies had united to form our early country, the Union flag of the thirteen stripes was first unfurled to the battle and the breeze; and it was over our proud metropolis that this flag, for the first time, waved in triumph behind a retreating foe. [Cheers.]

“Welcome, great patriot, to these enkindling associations! Your noble nature, your fidelity to principle, your labors, triumphs, perils and sufferings, in your country, and your continued and untiring devotion, in exile, to the cause of your father-land, proclaim you to be of kindred spirit with the immortal men whose heroism, in a day of baptism of fire and blood, hallowed this soil forever to the lovers of liberty! [Cheers.] Welcome, illustrious exile, to the sacred inspiration, to the awakening power, of this consecrated spot!

“And as, to bid you welcome, we come forth from our happy homes, from our schools of learning and our altars of religion, from the shops of a thriving industry and the marts of a prosperous commerce, it is in the full enjoyment of the fruits of political freedom, the quickening power of the principle of liberty animating all into its varied life. Would it were thus with brave and unfortunate Hungary! How can be expressed what here was felt at those occurrences that deprived your people of their rights, and made you an exile from home and country! We know the story of your eventful struggle. We see exhibited in it the traits of love of freedom, of chivalrous heroism, of undying attachment to ancient rights and liberties, of noble self-sacri-

face, that marked our own great contest. We saw you, animated by the glorious antecedent of a thousand years' enjoyment of municipal institutions, gallantly carve your way, with your own good swords, to national independence, and thereby acquire the right of ordaining your own institutions. But then came the foreign interference with your internal affairs, when your territory was invaded and your independence was destroyed by the armies of the Czar. An indignant American public opinion must ever pronounce that interference to have been an enormous violation of national law [cheers]; and also pronounce that each nation has a right to make or to unmake its government, free from interference by any foreign power. [Cheers.]

“Honored sir, I feel how inadequate are my poor words to serve such an occasion as to welcome the representative man of the cause of liberty in the Old World, on the soil where that cause in the New World first met the shock of regular conflict. Fortunately, the want is supplied. ‘The powerful speaker stands motionless before us.’ [Pointing to the monument.] This majestic column was solemnly dedicated ‘to the spirit of national independence.’ Its speech to-day is of welcome and encouragement to the illustrious exile whose life is devoted to this noble cause. [Tremendous cheering.]

“God speed on your great work, and grant that Hungary may soon again stand independent among the family of nations, and receive you as her rightful governor!”

KOSSUTH'S SPEECH ON BUNKER HILL.

“My voice shrinks from the task to mingle with the awful pathos of that majestic orator! [Pointing to the monument.] Silent like the grave, and yet melodious like the song of immortality upon the lips of cherubim,—a senseless, cold granite, and yet warm with inspiration like a patriot's heart,—immovable like the past, and yet stirring like the future, which never stops,—it looks like a prophet, and speaks like an oracle. And thus it speaks:

“‘The day I commemorate is the rod with which the hand of the Lord has opened the well of liberty. Its waters will flow; every new drop of martyr blood will increase the tide. Despots may dam its flood, but never stop it. The higher its dam, the higher the tide; it will overflow, or break through. Bow, and adore, and hope!’

“Such are the words which come to my ears; and I bow, I adore, I hope!

“In bowing, my eyes meet the soil of Bunker Hill,—that awful opening scene of the eventful drama to which Lexington and Concord had been the preface!

“The spirits of the past rise before my eyes. I see Richard Gridley hastily planning the intrenchments. I hear the dull, cold, blunt sound of the pick-axe and spade in the hands of the patriot band. I hear the patrols say that ‘all is well.’ I see Knowlton raising his line of rail fence, upon which soon the guns will rest, that the bullets may prove to their message true. I see the tall, commanding form of Prescott marching leisurely around the parapet, inflaming the tired patriots with the classical words that those who had the merit of the labor should have the honor of the victory. I see Asa Pollard fall, the first victim of that immortal day; I see the chaplain praying over him; and now the roaring of cannon from ships and from batteries, and the blaze of the burning town, and the thrice-renewed storm, and the persevering defence, till powder was gone, and but stones remained. And I see Warren telling Elbridge Gerry that it is sweet and fair to die for the father-land. I see him lingering in his retreat, and, struck in the forehead, fall to the ground; and Pomeroy, with his shattered musket in his brave hand, complaining that he remained unhurt, when Warren had to die; and I see all the brave who fell unnamed, unnoticed and unknown, the nameless corner-stones of American independence!

“All the spirits of that most eventful victory under the name of defeat,—I see them all! The eyes of my soul are familiar with the spirits of martyrs of liberty. But those I see around me have no sad, ghostly look; they bear no gushing wounds crying for revenge to the Almighty God; the smile of eternal bliss is playing around their lips, and, though dwellers of heaven, they like to visit the place where their blood was spilt. It was not spilt in vain; their father-land is free, and there is a joy in that thought, adding ever new charm even to the happiness of blessed souls. As the fabulous divinities of ancient Greece like to rest from the charms of heaven on Mount Olympus, so must the spirit of Warren like to rest on the top of this monument here.

“Martyrs of my country! how long will it yet be till a like joy will thrill through your departed souls? When will the smile of that joy play around your lips? How long will yet the gush of your wounds cry for revenge,—your father-land still bleeding, down-trodden, oppressed? There is a sorrow in that thought, casting the gloom of sadness even over the bliss of Paradise.

“Almighty Father of mankind, let the day of thy mercy be not too far!

“Excuse my emotion, gentlemen; the associations of my ideas are natural. Your Bunker Hill and our Kapolna are twins:—both called defeats, and both eventual victories; both resulting in the declaration of an independence; but yours acknowledged before it was achieved, and supported by foreign aid,—ours not acknowledged even when achieved, and meeting foreign aggression instead of aid.

“Well, past is past, and cannot be changed; but the future is open yet; and often I have bowed before the recollections of this hallowed ground. I adore the Almighty with unfaltering hope. Part of my hope rests in the justice of him who rules the universe, and holds in his hands the destinies of mankind and of men. My people’s sufferings are recorded in the book of his eternal decrees, and the tears of my people numbered in his scale. I trust to him.

“Part of my hope rests with our own selves. We know that God helps those that help themselves, and we will. We look not for unmerited good luck, but for well-merited reward; and we decided to merit it. Allow me to say that I am proud of my people,—proud not only of its past, but proud of its present also. An exile heart not often does rejoice; but I rejoice to know how my people behaved,—greater and nobler yet, in its present sufferings, than when it bore up against a world in arms, and raised its country’s name higher in its very fall than it stood ever in its brightest days. The responsibilities of my position do well guard me from easily believing what I warmly wish. I weigh calmly every incident; but joy is so communicative that I cannot forbear so much to say,—that I have reason to be proud of my people, and bow with profound veneration at its name. The tidings I receive entitle me to say, ‘Young Nero, in Vienna’s old walls, thou may’st rage, and pour the embers of thy fury over my people’s head; thou may’st raise thy scaffold, and people thy dungeons with thousands of new victims, and drain the life-sweat of my people, and whip it with the iron rod of thy unparalleled tyranny;—I defy thee to break my people’s high-minded spirit! Foolish boy! thou may’st torture my family,—break the heart of my old mother, murder my sisters, and send forth thy assassins against him who, with ill-fated but honest generosity, once saved thy crown. Thou may’st do all thou canst!—thy days are numbered; thy power is falling, and my country will be free!’

“But part of my hope rests also with you, Americans. The distin-

guished patriot whom the genius of his powerful mind and the confidence of his native land entitled to act the part of interpreter of his people's sentiments at the inauguration of this monument, has but spoken an irrefutable truth when he said that the results of the battle of Bunker Hill will continue to rain influence not only upon your country, but upon the world. And, indeed, he was right to say, that at the rising of the sun, and the setting of the sun, and the blaze of noon-day, and beneath the milder effulgence of lunar light, yonder obelisk will look and speak, to the full comprehension of every American mind.

“It has looked and spoken for nine years, in its accomplished majesty. Meanwhile, you have gloriously fought the battle of active vitality, and extended your sway to the shores of the Pacific, uniting, with new ties, your own future to the destinies of the Old World. The comfort of indolence, small party considerations, and even the reputation of well-founded authority, may grasp hold of the rolling wheel of necessity;—the necessity will not change; and you, people of America, have decided to answer that necessity. I have laid my hand upon your people's heart, and I have watched the logic in the progress of exigencies; and I dare say, with firm confidence, the foretold instruction of that monument's majestic eloquence is felt by the people's instinct, and is fully comprehended by the intelligence of Massachusetts. And the new exigencies of new times will be answered by Massachusetts with that energy with which it has answered the exigencies of all former times. The Pilgrim Fathers founded a community;—the battle of Bunker Hill founded a nation;—the approaching struggle for liberty in Europe will see this nation a mighty power on earth! That is what we wish, and that is what I hope; and that hope will not, cannot fail!

“Gentlemen, a great crisis is approaching in the condition of the world; but the world is prepared for that crisis. There is a great change in the spirit of time, now-a-days; and I myself am an humble evidence of it. Principles weigh more than success; and, therefore, principles will meet success.

“I remember well, when your forefathers were about to fight the battle of Bunker Hill, there was a periodical paper at Boston, — Tory Massachusettensis was its name,— which dared to say, that ‘the annals of the world have not yet been deformed with a single instance of so unnatural, causeless, wanton and wicked a rebellion.’ So it styled the

sacred cause which the Adamses, the Hancocks, advised, Washington led, and for which Warren bled!

“And now that cause fills the brightest page in the annals of humanity. But it was success, and its unparalleled results, which cast the lustre of that glory around it. Unsuccessful, its memory might have been blasted with the name of an ill-advised rebellion.

“Now-a-days, it is not success which makes the merit of a cause, but its principle. The results of the day of Bunker Hill have changed the basis of future history, because it gave birth to a mighty nation, whose very existence is the embodiment of a principle, true like truth itself, and lasting like eternity.

“It would be strange, indeed, should that principle forsake itself. No, it will not, it cannot, do it. Great is the destiny of your nation. You approach it not in vain, with so successful, gigantic steps. Opportunity will do the rest. Upon this, humanity may with confidence rely, and opportunity will come. Its forecast shadow is already seen.

“I could wish, for my poor country's sake, that you should be pleased to make that opportunity, having the power to do so. But I know great bodies move slowly, and feel consoled with the assurance that it will move when opportunity will come. In the mean time, your private generosity, tendered to our unmerited misfortunes, is planning the way; and should we not feel strong enough to create opportunity, supported by your benevolence, we will not be unprepared to catch it when it comes.

“It will be gratifying to your noble hearts to hear the fact that the reception America has honored me with, the sympathy which you manifest, came like a healing balm over my country's bleeding wounds, and, warming my people's heart like as the May sun warms the soil, added the cheerfulness of confidence to the resolution of patriotism. I know my people well; I know what it did, what it was ready to do, when it was but duty it felt. I know what it can do, now that it hopes.

“I thank you for it, not only in my people's name, but I am expressly charged to tell the people of America that it has not spent its sympathy on a corpse. Hungary will answer the expectations of America.

“And here let me cut short my words. In the place here, where the revelation of Providence is told by the eloquence of yonder monument, reasoning would be a profanation on my part. At this moment, my very mind is concentrated in my heart. There stands the power-

ful orator. [Pointing to the monument.] Let his words find willing ears and susceptible hearts. I leave you to the influence of his eloquence. To me, his silent speech was the harmony of an angel's song. I leave this hallowed spot with consolation, joy, and confidence. The memory of my having stood here, honored by your attention, and encouraged by your sympathy, will strengthen my patience to endure, and my resolution to act; and though the happiness of Washington may not be my lot, the devotion of Warren will dwell in my breast.

“With this resolution, I once more thank you, and bid you cordially farewell.”

Soon after the conclusion of his speech, Kossuth ascended the monument, to gaze upon the splendid views from the openings near the top. On descending, he, with his companions, was escorted to the residence of the mayor, where a number of the principal citizens of Charlestown were introduced to Kossuth. After a sumptuous repast, the Hungarians returned to Boston, and reached the Revere House at two o'clock, P. M.

KOSSUTH IN THE GRAND LODGE.

KOSSUTH being a Free Mason, the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts invited him to visit the Masonic Temple, on Monday evening, May 3. A very large number of the brethren assembled on the occasion. Rev. Mr. Randall, the Most Worshipful Grand Master, presided; and, after the preliminaries were gone through with, he arose and addressed his illustrious brother as follows:

“It affords me very great pleasure to meet you, my honored brother, within the walls of this temple, and, in the name of the fraternity over which I have the honor to preside, to bid you a hearty welcome to the Grand Lodge of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, the oldest Grand Lodge on this continent, and the parent of Free Masonry in this hemisphere.

“It has been the office of others, and in other places, to hail you as the eloquent advocate of the principles of popular liberty, and the champion of the freedom of your own dear but oppressed Hungary; but it is our peculiar privilege to greet you under the endearing appellation of BROTHER,—to extend to you that hand which lies as near the

heart when it is given to the virtuous and patriotic exile, who flies from the oppressions of tyranny, as when it is raised to cheer the good and the great, in the hour of triumphant success.

“As men, we cannot be unmindful of the wants and the wrongs of our fellow-men. As *American* men, we have a strong sympathy — and as long as we are worthy of that noble name, we always must have a strong and an abiding sympathy — for those nations of the earth who are struggling for what the Almighty has decreed to be the birthright of all who have been created in his own image. While the principles of our institution forbid the introduction of questions of religion and politics, on which its members are necessarily divided,— while we guard our doors with a jealous vigilance against what does not belong to our institution, and which would compromise its character, and ruin its influence, by separating brethren, breaking the golden chain of fraternal unity, and thus hinder the great work of sacred charity which constitutes the bond and the purpose of our society — yet, as Masons, we may cherish and express a deep interest in those marvellous movements of the age which involve the happiness and the progress of the nations of the earth.

“Be assured, my brother, we have not been indifferent spectators of the struggles in which you have been called, by the providence of God, to act so conspicuous a part. We sympathized with you and with your country when the sound of your name and the report of your cause first reached our shores; nor need I say that that sympathy has been in no wise diminished, since to the respect which we owe to the virtuous, and the honor we pay to the patriotic, has been added the feeling of fraternal regard.

“Allow me, my distinguished brother, to congratulate you on your introduction within the pale of the oldest and largest society of human origin; a society which, while it is so memorable for its antiquity, is so honorable in its associations, elevating in its aims, and so beneficial in the results of its labors; a society whose members are found in all lands, of every faith in religion, and of every party in politics. Of this ancient and honorable family you have now become a member, and to its benefits and its enjoyments we bid you a sincere welcome.

“Providence saw fit to allow you to receive tuition from a very severe schoolmaster, and within the walls of a very contracted school-room, in the fortress of Buda, that you might learn that language which was to be the medium for the transmission of your eloquent appeals to the Anglo-Saxon race; but, beneath the smiling skies of the

New World, with kind brethren for your teachers, you have learned another language, which is limited to no one nation or quarter of the globe; which constitutes a passport that no act of tyranny can destroy; a language which, while it addresses the eye or the ear, goes straight to the heart, and opens the fountain of love, and wakes up the conscience, if it be found asleep, and calls and secures a friend when a friend is needed.

“ I congratulate you on your union with a society, which teaches *Morality, Brotherly Love, Relief and Truth*, as its first principles; which is ever inculcating faith in God, hope in immortality, and charity to all mankind; whose lessons of morality are drawn from God’s eternal Word; whose work is to relieve the distressed, and comfort the afflicted; whose precepts are the lessons of love and loyalty,—duty to God, to ourselves, to our country, and to our fellow-men; a society that throws its arms around the friendless stranger, and makes him feel that he has found a home in a land of strangers; a society which takes the orphan by the hand, and protects the widow in her desolation, and proves itself a friend to whom they may look for counsel and for relief!

“ Although this society does not recognize any one form of religious faith, nor permit the discussion of religious differences in its assemblies, yet it rests upon principles that constitute the foundation of all true religion; and, though it suffers no note of political strife to mar the harmony of its labors, yet the influence of its instructions, and its practices, is to foster a spirit of enlightened liberty, by teaching the natural equality of all mankind, their common duties, and their common destinies. It has always flourished best where the light of general intelligence has been most diffused, and the sun of civil liberty shone brightest.

“ Nowhere has this institution flourished more than in England and in the United States; and nowhere are the principles of civil and religious liberty better understood and more fully enjoyed, nowhere are the people more intelligent or more happy. On the other hand, nowhere has Free Masonry been more violently denounced, and its members more bitterly persecuted, than in those nations of the earth where the iron heel of despotism is placed upon the necks of a degraded people. In proportion to the intelligence of a nation, the purity of its religion, and liberality of its government, has this fraternity, as a general rule, flourished. This is not because it inculcates definite political principles, or teaches any specific form of religious faith; but it has

incorporated into its very constitution that which is the life of all liberty, and the fountain of all religion. Its great light is God's Eternal Word. This lies always open upon its altar. This is the charter of all true liberty, the source and the support of all true elevation. It is a light which leads the people that follow it to that glorious height of intelligent independence, from which no hand of the oppressor can strike them down. Hence all despots, who rely for their power upon the ignorance or the superstition of the people, are the natural enemies of this institution, and always will be. They are afraid of it. Not altogether because it is *secret*,—for they know, or they may know, that it is open to all who are worthy and well qualified, even to their own courtiers, who may see that nothing is plotted against the safety of the state,—no, it is not secrecy that they fear. They dare not encourage or countenance a society which inculcates human equality, and takes the Word of God as its supreme rule. These despots are not so afraid of the darkness of treason as they are of the daylight of intelligence; they do not dread the cabalistic signs of Free Masons, so much as they do the elevation of their subjects. 'They are in great fear, where no fear is.'

“ Thus it is that for ages Free Masonry has been outlawed in many of the nations of Europe.

“ In Portugal, in the last century, the bull of the Pope declared Free Masonry to be *heresy*; and the horrors of the Inquisition were held up as a terror to all who should presume to declare themselves members of this fraternity.

“ In Spain, Pope Clement the Twelfth issued a decree in 1737, pronouncing the punishment of death against all who should be found guilty of practising the rites of our order. In 1740, Philip the Fifth declared the galleys for life, or punishment of death, the award for Free Masons, a large number of whom he had arrested and sentenced, after undergoing a long confinement in the prisons of the Inquisition. In 1751, Ferdinand the Sixth declared Free Masonry high treason, punishable with death. When the troops of France took possession of Spain, in 1807, Masonry was relieved from the power of the oppressor,—lodges again assembled, under the protection of Joseph Bonaparte, who had been Grand Master in France. The Grand Lodge of Spain met in the *very hall previously occupied by their enemies of the Inquisition!* On the fall of Bonaparte and the restoration of Ferdinand the Seventh, came the return of the Jesuits, the reorganization of the Inquisition, and the exterminating process against Free Masonry.

As late as 1824, a law was passed requiring Masons to deliver up all their papers and documents, or to be decreed traitors. It is said that in 1827 *seven* members of a lodge in Grenada were executed. The order is at present pursuing its objects without molestation.

“ In Austria, Free Masonry is scarcely known.

“ In Russia, lodges were founded at St. Petersburg and Moscow in 1786, and during the reign of Alexander, who was himself initiated in 1803, the institution was in some degree prosperous ; but, on the accession of Nicholas to the throne, the light of Masonry was extinguished, and the institution is scarcely known throughout the wide dominions of this proud oppressor.

“ In 1785, there were several lodges in Hungary. What may be the condition of the fraternity in that land, which has been the scene of struggles on which the world has been looking with the profoundest interest, I am not able to say.

“ But it is grateful to turn away from this darker part of the picture, and to glance for a moment at our institution in its relations where liberty is the people’s happy inheritance. It has been objected, even here, that its principles were inconsistent with the rights and prejudicial to the liberties of the people. What better answer can be made to that objection than the mention of the fact that, under Providence, the master-spirits of the Revolution which secured our independence were Master Masons? What stronger proof need we have, in refutation of this objection, than is found in the fact that the pen which drew up that ever-memorable document, the Declaration of Independence,—that exponent of the natural rights of man, which has become the pole-star of human liberty all the world over,—was held by a hand whose fidelity had been pledged to this institution ; and *fifty-two*, out of fifty-six, who signed that declaration, were also members of this fraternity ; while every major-general of that patriot army, who bravely defended these principles, belonged to this institution? We may surely ask, with great confidence, who understood the principles of civil liberty better, or loved them more, than this band of patriots, who pledged their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honors, in defence of them? This they did, not, indeed, because they were Masons,—since others were equally brave on the other side, who were also members of this fraternity, but who were equally loyal to their own government ; thus showing that patriotism and loyalty to government, and devotion to the rights of man, were perfectly consistent with a strong attachment to an institution, where men — even

brethren — may be entirely divided in their views of political policy and civil duties.

“When I turn my eye to that golden casket [pointing to a golden urn containing a lock of the hair of General Washington, presented to the Grand Lodge by Mrs. Washington], which has been intrusted to my keeping as Grand Master of this Grand Lodge, I am reminded of him who, though ‘first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen,’ and whom all men must be content to approach *proximo longo intervallo*, and whom American men delight to call the ‘Father of his Country,’ yet wore that emblem of innocence and badge of a Mason, more ancient as well as more honorable than the golden fleece or Roman eagle; who, when the American army was encamped in a neighboring town, at the very commencement of the Revolutionary struggle, sat as a private member of a lodge with an orderly serjeant for his master,— and that, too, at a time when he was as much the dictator of his country as Cæsar was of Rome. When I turn from this precious relic to that speaking picture [a portrait of General Warren], I behold the memorial of him who for five years held the office of Grand Master of this Grand Lodge,— the beloved and lamented Warren, who, on the 17th day of June, 1775, went forth to yonder height, at his country’s call, to spill his martyr-blood in defence of the cause of American liberty. With such soldiers in the field, and such wisdom in the council, as distinguished him, who

‘Eripuit cœlo fulmen, sceptrumque tyrannis,’

our liberties were secured, under the smiles of that Providence which never forsakes a righteous cause. When these men, and such as these, were found firm friends of Masonry, as they were firm friends of their country, it is not strange that we proudly claim this fact as a demonstration of the truth, that Masonry and liberty may go, and do go, hand in hand.

“From the boastings that we have heard, of late years, one would imagine that the sentiment, ‘*Liberty, Equality, Fraternity,*’ has been just discovered, and the French nation were entitled to the honor of this discovery. But this sentiment is an old principle in this ancient institution. While that nation is amusing the world, and cursing itself, by alternately writing it upon its banners and its monuments, and then erasing it, as if principles had changed or could change, we have written it upon the pillars of our order, with the diamond of

truth, in such characters that no red and reeking hand of Jacobin infidelity can ever blot it out.

“In this country I am happy to say that our order is in a highly flourishing condition. Yet even here, in this land of liberty, it has not always and altogether been free from the trials to which, as you very well know, every good cause is exposed. The fires of persecution have been lighted up here, even here, under the very eaves of Faneuil Hall, and within sight of Bunker Hill! But they have burnt out. They lasted as long as there were any wood, hay and stubble, to be found in or about the temple; and have, in the end, done our institution a purifying service. The only inconvenience that we have suffered from it is, that, in consequence of the flame and smoke, our good old State of Massachusetts received a slight mesmeric shock, and became for a short time a little bewildered. And, while in this condition, she unfortunately mistook one of her best friends for an enemy, and, in yielding to her temporary caprice, we gave up our charter; and, though she has long ago recovered from this delusion, she has forgotten to return it.

“I will not longer detain my brethren from the feast which they came to enjoy. Again, my honored brother, I bid you *a hearty* and a MASONIC WELCOME to the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts!

“Brethren! I introduce to you our distinguished brother from Hungary.”

At the conclusion of this address, Kossuth arose and replied substantially as follows:

“M. W. GRAND MASTER: I cannot express my thanks and heartfelt feelings to you and the fraternity, for your kind invitation to visit you, and the welcome manner with which I have been received.

“From early youth I was predisposed, by my sentiments and religious inclinations, to search out truth; and, when found and seen, to follow it with faith all the rest of my life. I felt myself under engagements to the Almighty to pursue this course, and commit myself to his guidance. From the benevolent sentiments and interest which the fraternity took in my welfare, opportunity was offered me to enter an institution ennobled by the highest principles of humanity, and great names in history. Blessed idea! deserving to be engraved forever on the memory. For the principles of our institution are not contrary to the principles of freedom and humanity; but, in my opin-

ion, they tend to promote and strengthen the welfare of the community, as you have this evening taught us in your eloquent address. Still, M. W. Grand Master, I must confess that I shall leave this hall with new treasures in my heart and in my mind, which your wisdom has imparted, sacred with many historic recollections of Bohemia, where, I must confess, Free Masonry has continued still to find a field worthy of its character; yet, I am sorry to say, it suffers degradation and oppression in other provinces. Wherever founded and fostered, so as once to take root, whatever may be the opposition to its prevalence, it has still kept its root. As to my own country, the members of the house of Austria have ruled my native land, by our own free choice, for three centuries; and only Joseph II. had the reputation of being a Mason, and promoting the Masonic fraternity. Free Masonry then flourished in Hungary; but it has since been put down. One principle you have alluded to, M. W.,—brotherly love; it was forgotten by our oppressors. All has vanished like a dream, and taken no deep root in the soil of my nation. It was torn up by the hand of violence. Few, very few, lodges exist in Hungary; so far as I know, scarcely three. When called, a short time since, to be governor, I know the times were then too full of danger for Masonry to prosper; for they were sharp times to us all, full of danger, full of trials, and were not such as to enable men to patronize our institution.

“ M. W. Grand Master, I am no stranger to the fact that politics can never enter these walls. Brotherly love, relief and truth, are the fundamental principles of the fraternity; yet the fate of my poor down-trodden country deserves consideration in every heart. For, if man had a right to oppress his fellow-man, Free Masonry would cease to exist. Our entire nature requires to be independent; and, though our institution embraces mysteries, I would say mysteries only blind the intellect of those who do not understand them;—and, since I have joined the fraternity, I feel more strengthened in my resolution to serve my country faithfully, and will endeavor always to act with a good heart and hand, strengthened by new pledges and sacred ties,—ties which give more power and ability to execute the great principles of brotherly love and truth. Patriotism cannot be contented with performing merely the duties of a Mason; for not only as men, but as true Masons, many of the great men of your Revolution struggled for liberty. Not as Masons only, but as patriots, they went into the battle-field to die for their country. One whose portrait is now before me, who once filled the chair of the Grand Lodge, and who shed his

blood in the first battle of your independence, thus rose to immortality; and so did many brethren among your chieftains and distinguished men, in that successful struggle.

“ M. W., I regard it as an honor that I am a member of your fraternity. I thank you cordially that you have this evening given me such valuable instruction on the nature of this noble institution, and its intimate connection with pure freedom and the just rights of man. They are convincing proofs that I pursued my duty when I became one of the brotherhood. Masonry has never flourished where a country is ruled by despotism. History — the book of life — thus far shows that the foundation of civil liberty must lie at the bottom of an institution so well calculated to improve the social relations and dignify man. It withers away under the hand of absolutism. They cannot live together. Excuse me, therefore, when I raise the sign of desolation for my unfortunate father-land, which now suffers deeply. I go in her behalf, like a humble beggar, and cry to God and to man to do something for her, and to promote that great principle without which even Masonry cannot exist.

“ My life has been full of vicissitudes. Great adversities elevate and dignify the mind of man. I feel for my country. To relieve her calamities is the grand object of my life. To enlist the sympathy of the world in her behalf, I bow with humility to every man who has a human feeling in his heart, and especially to that brother who, being a Mason, knows the value of freedom, and can feel for down-trodden Hungary. Be assured, whatever Masonry may be in other parts of continental Europe, from Russia no sun will ever rise. I appeal to all classes. I appeal to young men of noble inclinations, in these times, in this land, to feel for my unhappy country, where the oppressor has tried to extinguish all laws and the shadow of laws. There is sky, and air, and water there; but, to find the sunlight where it most spreads and lightens the path of freedom, we must come to America. In continental Europe the light goes so far, and no further. Stars we know are made round, and not square. Their motion is circular and uniform, yet they elude our notice when clouds fill the sky. It is so with liberty in Europe, where darkness gathers round it. All who now suffer from oppression in the east look with hope to the free institutions of this western world; for it should be remembered that although this country is west of Europe, it is *east* of Asia; and from this east light may again dawn on that benighted region.

“ But I must close. I am one of the humblest of the brethren

among you,— an exile from a distant land ; but your kindness, and the generous hospitalities and great attention bestowed on me by the citizens of your magnificent country, I attribute to no merits of my own, but to a generous sympathy in the sufferings of my people. M. W. Grand Master and brethren, I thank you again for these distinguished marks of your kindness. Rest assured it will be the great aim and effort of my life to walk worthy of the character of a Mason, and to fulfil the duties which devolve, according to his ability and rank, on every member of our noble institution.”

During the delivery of the speech, he was frequently applauded. At the conclusion, he was introduced to each individual member. The meeting was a very agreeable one, and will long be remembered by those who had the good fortune to be present.

KOSSUTH IN CAMBRIDGE.

ON Tuesday, May 4, Kossuth and suite, accompanied by Governor Boutwell, Mr. Speaker Banks and Senator Burlingame, paid a visit to Cambridge and Harvard University. The party started from the Revere House at one o'clock ; and, upon invitation of Mr. Burlingame, proceeded immediately to the residence of his father-in-law, Hon. Isaac Livermore, in Cambridge, where they made a short stay, and then visited Harvard College, to attend the spring exhibition of students in the chapel of University Hall. It was near two o'clock when Kossuth reached the hall. Quite a number of persons were assembled in front and upon the steps of the building, each anxious to get the first look at the illustrious visiter. When Kossuth alighted from the carriage, one of the bystanders proposed “ Three cheers for the Governor of Hungary ! ” and they were given in right good earnest. Kossuth ascended the steps, and, removing his hat from his head, bowed gracefully to the crowd, and was again greeted with cheers. He was welcomed by Professors Longfellow and Felton, who immediately conducted him into the hall of exhibition, which was densely packed with ladies and gentlemen. The audience arose as Kossuth entered, and greeted him with three times three cheers, and with the waving of handkerchiefs by the ladies. Kossuth ascended the platform, and, bowing his thanks, took a seat among the audience.

The last of the exercises was then proceeded with, which was an English oration on "Unsuccessful Great Men," by Addison Brown, of Bradford, Mass. The sentiments of the oration were exceedingly appropriate to the occasion of Kossuth's visit.

At the conclusion, President Sparks descended from the desk, and, removing his three-cornered cap from his head, took Kossuth cordially by the hand, and bade him welcome to the University. This ceremony called forth three cheers more from the enthusiastic audience. At the request of President Sparks, Kossuth stepped forward upon the platform, and was again cheered by the students.

Quiet being restored, the president said :

"Young gentlemen of the university, and ladies and gentlemen who have honored the occasion with their presence, I introduce to you Louis Kossuth, Governor of Hungary." [Cheers.]

Kossuth said :

"SIR : I did not expect to be called upon to add the concluding words to the exercises of this occasion. I am confident the young gentlemen whose minds you, sir, conduct in the paths of learning, will prove, through their future life, true to freedom. The welfare, security and happiness, of a country, has no stronger guarantee than the intelligence of its citizens. Education is the greatest benefit a country is able to bestow. The only gratitude that humanity and their country will ask of these young men is, that they will ever conserve a warm sentiment of liberty, and will never employ their efforts in any other direction than will promote their country's welfare and the rights of humanity. I will ever preserve a pleasant recollection that, during my short stay in this vicinity, I have seen the place where the minds of young men receive that stamp of intelligence which is the particular mark of the people throughout Massachusetts." [Tremendous cheering.]

At the conclusion of his remarks, Kossuth stepped down from the platform, and was introduced by President Sparks and Governor Boutwell to ex-President Everett, Professor Agassiz, Professor Felton, Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, General Cushing, Rev. Dr. Parkman, and several members of the Board of Overseers.

From the colleges, Kossuth proceeded to the residence of the Rev. Dr. Charles Lowell, the father of the poet Lowell, and of Mrs. Putnam, whose articles in the Christian Examiner rendered such essential service to the cause of Hungary, by refuting the fallacies and mis-

representations of the *North American Review*. The interview of the Hungarian chieftain and the eminent and venerable divine was extremely affecting. Dr. Lowell was in very feeble health, but his strong sympathy with the cause of Hungary and of freedom called forth all his wonted energy of mind and body. He welcomed Kossuth in the warmest manner; expressed the highest admiration for his character and conduct; and, finally, placing his hands upon the head of the exiled patriot, prayed that God would bless him and his noble cause. Kossuth, in reply, spoke of his gratitude to Mrs. Putnam, for the zeal, learning and ability, with which she had vindicated his country; and regretted that her absence from the country prevented him from paying his respects to her in person.

Kossuth also called upon President Sparks and upon Charles Russell Lowell, Esq., Dr. Lowell's eldest son, at whose house a large company of ladies and gentlemen had assembled in order to see him. Here he was presented with one hundred dollars "material aid," by William A. White, on behalf of a lady of Cambridge, who did not wish her name to be known. At five P. M. he returned to Boston.

KOSSUTH IN LOWELL.

ON Wednesday, May 5, at half-past twelve o'clock, Kossuth and suite, accompanied by Messrs. Hopkins and Kimball of the State Committee, Mr. Beard of the Senate, Mr. Brown of the House, Messrs. Abbott and Chesley of Lowell, and several other gentlemen, left Boston in an extra train, at half-past twelve, for the city of Lowell. The car in which they were seated was decorated with Hungarian flags.

In about three-quarters of an hour the train reached Lowell, and Kossuth was introduced to a reception committee on a platform near the depot by Mayor Huntington, amid the roar of cannon, and the plaudits of as many thousands of spectators as could find room on the neighboring streets, cliffs, and roofs. No speeches were made, and in a few moments Kossuth was escorted to his carriage; and, as he stepped in and uncovered his head, enthusiastic cheers acknowledged the hearty welcome with which THE PEOPLE of Lowell greeted him. An immense crowd surrounded the depot in all directions, blocking up the streets and passage-ways, and rendering the utmost exertions of the police and military force necessary to preserve the lines.

The procession commenced moving under the direction of Colonel Watson, chief marshal. First, came a grand cavalcade of citizens. Next, the military, consisting of the National Blues, the Wameset Light Guard, the Mechanic Phalanx; — these last composed the guard of honor to Kossuth's carriage, which was drawn by four beautiful white horses, each bearing the flags of the United States and Hungary. In this carriage rode Kossuth, his Honor the Mayor, Mr. Hopkins, and John Nesmith, Esq. Other carriages contained Kossuth's suite, the committee of arrangements and their guests. The entire route of the procession was lined with spectators, who heartily cheered the distinguished visiter as he proceeded. Ladies filled the windows on all sides, and made up a large proportion of the crowds in the streets. Many of the stores and houses were very handsomely decorated. The day was quite warm, and was one of the most beautiful of the season.

At twenty minutes past three the procession halted at the Merrimack House, having travelled the route previously announced in the official programme. Kossuth then dined with the committee of arrange-

ments; after which, in company with Erastus Hopkins and lady, of Northampton, Mayor Huntington, Wm. Livingston, J. G. Abbott, Colonels Watson and Butler, he visited the new canal, the Merrimack mills, and one of the corporation boarding-houses, expressing himself highly delighted at what he saw.

On returning to the Merrimack House, Kossuth was waited upon by a number of persons, among whom was Eliza C. Poore, president of the Ladies Hungarian Association, who, in behalf of the association, presented him with sixty dollars and a neat address. William Livingston, Esq., also presented to Kossuth one hundred dollars, saying, "Accept this for the Hungarian cause."

In the evening a meeting was held in St. Paul's Church. At an early hour a strong current began to set in that direction; and before eight o'clock arrived, at which time the public ceremonies were to commence, the house was completely full, although a dollar was demanded for admission. At eight o'clock, the deafening cheers from the immense crowd outside, amidst which, at intervals, could be heard a band of music, announced the approach of Kossuth. As he entered, the vast congregation arose and saluted him with the most hearty and prolonged cheers. Some of the ladies—a very large number of whom were present—seemed to be entirely carried away with the prevailing enthusiasm. White handkerchiefs waved and fluttered in the hands of the fair owners in every part of the house. Kossuth acknowledged the honor by low and graceful bows. When the applause had subsided, the "Marseilles Hymn" was sung by the High-street choir, and the band played Washington's March and Hail Columbia.

Hon. Elisha Huntington, mayor of the city, then arose and addressed Kossuth in the following words, frequently interrupted by applause:

"GOVERNOR KOSSUTH: I am conscious I can do but imperfect justice to the feelings of this people, in the welcome I extend in their behalf to the rightful Governor of Hungary.

"Other cities may have received you with more pomp and louder acclamations; none with feelings of more sincere regard, more profound admiration.

"Since your landing upon our shores, you have visited spots hallowed by great, glorious and *tender* associations. You have looked upon proud old Bunker Hill; you have surveyed our battle-fields; you have wept at the tomb of Washington. Our infant city can boast of none of these attractions. Industry, enterprise and wealth, within

a brief term of years, have caused a city to rise on this spot as if by enchantment; and the success of our industrial pursuits will but illustrate to you the blessings of prudence, good government, and wholesome laws.

“But, though our pursuits are peaceful and industrious, our *hearts* can go forth for the oppressed and down-trodden everywhere. Many a lowly heart among us beats high at the name of Kossuth; and Hungary and her heroes are as familiar to our children as household words.

“You, sir, occupy a position before the world vouchsafed to no other living man; and to you, most emphatically, the eyes and hearts of all freemen are directed. You, under Providence, have been mainly instrumental in planting the seed of the tree of liberty on the plains of your native Hungary. That tree, we believe, has already taken root, and its roots have been watered with the blood of Hungary’s noblest sons. You, we trust, will still live to see its gigantic branches overshadow all continental Europe,—to see it bud and blossom and bear fruit, the fair tree of liberty, whose leaves are for the healing of the nations.

“But, sir, I will not detain you from this anxious, expectant audience. Once more allow me to renew to you a cordial welcome to our city; and believe me, sir, this is no heartless, unmeaning ceremony,—it is the spontaneous outpouring of warm, sincere, and sympathizing hearts. We pray for your life, your health, and for a triumphant and glorious future. We have an unwavering faith in the all-controlling providence of a righteous God over the affairs of men. He will raise your prostrate, bleeding Hungary, from the dust, and place it high among the free nations of the earth; and this, we believe, he will do through you, his chosen, honored instrument.”

At the conclusion of the mayor’s address, and when Kossuth rose to reply, three more cheers were given, and presently the silence of death reigned throughout the entire house, every one listening to catch the first sound which should issue from his lips.

KOSSUTH’S SPEECH IN LOWELL.

“SIR: I am penetrated with sincere gratitude for all the kindness, welcome and sympathy, you have tendered me, and to which this distinguished assembly has answered with their spontaneous cheers.

Excuse me for daring to object to a single word in all that you have said; and that is, that this assembly, before which I have the honor to bow, has some expectation to hear from me something worthy of attention. I must begin by claiming their indulgence. Just as I feel sorrowful that whatever personal kindness should draw attention from my cause, so must I feel anxious not to do or say anything that may injure that cause to which I have devoted my life. It is not out of false modesty, but truth makes me say it, that the more opportunity I have to address the people, the lower I must fall in their estimation. It is not possible else. I have no claim to be a great orator. Cicero was a great orator; and in all his life he made, perhaps, thirty or forty speeches. Demosthenes has a name renowned, that will be immortal; and in his whole life, he made, I don't think more than twenty speeches. But, since I am in the United States, I have made five hundred speeches; and it is scarcely possible that four hundred and ninety-nine of them are worthy of attention.

“It is not easy to speak in a foreign tongue. I have some little written, but had not time to finish, and I must trust to inspiration. When I came here, I heard a hymn to God; and I am in the sanctuary consecrated to religion, and I plead for liberty. Perhaps out of these circumstances I may derive some little inspiration.

“Ladies and gentlemen, when the laborer gathers in the crops with which the mercy of God has rewarded his toils, and, to wipe off the sweat of his brow, he sits down with the heart-gladdening feeling of having done the task, and escaped all the whims of time, and, in the sweet moment of security, a flash of lightning strikes his stack and burns it down, a woe of sadness thrills through his heart, and he looks up to heaven with tearful eye. But one glance to the mother earth cures him from despair. A winter hard to get through knocks at his door; but the winter, however hard, will pass, and the spring will come, and his more fortunate neighbors will aid him in his toils, and his fields will again teem with nature's gifts, and a harvest doubly rich will compensate the deluded hopes of the past year.

“Truth, the truth of freedom, is like the mother earth. Violence may crush it, but its future it cannot destroy.

‘The eternal years of God are hers.’

“I and my nation, we are like that laborer. Bravely was fought the battle of justice and liberty, and victory has crowned its toils, and the blood of martyrs has with devoted profusion flown, like the sweat

of the laborer's brow, but it has not flown in defeat; the ray of victory has gilded the last smile upon the lips of self-immolating patriots; rich was the harvest of the field watered with the blood of the best; it was the independence of a country loved by millions more than life, it was the liberty of a people worthy to be free.

“And, as we sat down to wipe off the sweat of toil, and the hallelujah of thanksgivings rose from the lips of delighted millions, not the lightning of heaven, but a flame of hell, unholy like crime, and cursed as tyranny, consumed the beautiful stack!

“A mournful despair thrilled through the nation's heart; and all the woes of that mourning concentrated upon this poor heart; the tears rushed to the people's eye, and all the flame of those tears burnt in my eyes; but I looked up to God, and the eternal destiny of truth came over my mind, and my people looked to me; and we bear the harshness of the winter with unfaltering patience, and look to the spring with unabated hope. [Applause.] God will move good neighbors in our aid; and, thus hoping, we are ready to till the field once more in the sweat of our brow; ready to water it once more with our heart's blood, and trust to God that a new harvest will come, richer than that which we lost; and the day will come, when, sitting in the lap of a blessed future, we shall look with the smile of serenity into the mirror of past sufferings. [Applause.]

“I felt never more intensely that trust in the sure coming of liberty's new spring, than when I stood upon the battle-field where the first battle of America's liberty was fought, to which you have alluded, sir. It was a defeat, and turned out into a most glorious victory. [Applause.] Had it been victorious, perhaps a negotiation would have been its result, and Massachusetts would be a colony yet, as Canada is. Being such as it was, on one side it satisfied the country's noble pride, revealed the vital power of the patriots to themselves, and gave them the consciousness of their strength. On the other side, it roused the indignation of all the land, and, by rendering compromise impossible, made freedom and independence sure.

“It is therefore that I like to linger on those fields where the future destiny of republican America was baptized by the blood of your first martyrs. They are like a mirror of revealed mysteries to me, where the foreboding shadows of future events rise like a vision of magnetic dreams. I approach them with awe, and leave them with inspiration and with hope. [Applause.]

“But, if the view of Bunker Hill be inspiring, gladdening is the

view of Lowell. [Applause.] At Bunker Hill the magic rod was found with which the great enchantress 'Liberty' made Lowell rise out of the very earth, like the palace of fairies, — an overnight work of mystic spirits. [Applause.]

"Industry is a great word. It is science made subservient to the practical welfare of humanity. [Applause.] Agriculture is the nursery of nature's restless life. Multiplication is its task; commerce is the great vehicle of products. Communication is its task; it is mankind's storehouse; it dresses the dinner-table for humanity. Industry is a creating power. It makes new things; it is the spark of heaven, represented in the touching tale of Prometheus; it is the word by which the Almighty thus spoke to man, 'Thou art of Divine origin; I will give thee a share of my own spirit. Nature's hidden elements are the chaos, the confused raw material, of a new creation. I give thee science, that thou may'st find out those elements, and analyze their hidden qualities; and, that thou makest a new creation out of the chaotic material, give thee my fairest gift, "Industry."' [Applause.]

"To me, a place like Lowell is of a touching interest. It awakens recollections dear to my heart. It reminds me of what I did for my country's industry; collecting the modest sparks of individual knowledge, by the mighty lever of 'association,' into a blazing torch, spreading light, and courage, and energy, throughout the land; I see myself carried on the wings of memory back to those days when, seated amidst the mechanics of my country, I spoke to them of Arkwright, of Blanchard, of Whitney, and James Watt, and of the wonderful results falling upon mankind, like the morning dew, from the ever-flowing well of their genius; and I see how their eyes sparkled, and how the hidden flames of their soul burst forth, and how the gloom of their work-shops passed away before the lustre of self-conscious dignity; I see myself seated amidst the boys, gathering in my association's evening schools, when the task of the day was done, solving with glaring eyes and open lips the spirit of science and of art, superintended by their grave masters, wondering to hear what their boys are taught; I feel delighted to recollect the pressing crowds of men and women, of girls and boys, gathering into our halls to see the disclosed wonders of industrial chemistry, the perfection of well-adapted tools, the manner of using them best, explained by the everlasting rules of mathematics, in their practical application to technics and mechanics. [Applause.] I see new inventions of the newly-roused genius pouring in, and myself presiding, the Areopagus of practical workmen, in judging

them ; I see the happy, cheerful life in the factories which I made rise, and the noise of the water-wheel, and the puffing of the steam, where a month before the silence of idleness rested ; and I see the exhibitions I arranged, the joy of my recollections and the pride of my memory ; I remember yet the excitement with which I arranged the first, anxious to shelter its poverty beneath the lustre of future days ; and I remember yet the joy I felt when I had to watch the arrangements of the third exhibition, the rich treasurer of a new life, filling a long row of majestic halls, and the nation pilgriming in thousands from distant parts to see the people's glory and the country's pride [applause] ; and the modest workmen looking first astonished at themselves, if it be, indeed, they who wrought all those things ; then, looking with dignity around, conscious of their worth, and receiving proudly the medals of reward from my hands, more proud of them than arrogant aristocrats of their dusty parchments. [Applause.] I remember my joy when, at the banquet-tables of industrial solemnities, I first saw the distinction of classes give way to human dignity, and the pretensions of old aristocracy to the conscious merit of rising democracy [applause], social equality planning the way to political equality. [Applause.]

“ All this, and a thousand recollections else, come to my mind. I see the stout workmen closing the work-shops, and flying to arms, and fighting like heroes, and dying with a smile for their father-land ; and the older and weaker, working day and night to provide for the wants of those who fought [applause], and — but away with recollections ! All this has past ; ‘ the beauty of Israel fell.’ The halls are empty, and the schools are shut ; the fields lie waste, and the hearth of the work-shop is cold, and the flowers of the new creation are trampled down ! But the spirit is awake, — no violence can murder it ! My voice raised in time will rouse it from its gloom, and the clarion of resurrection will resound from valley to valley, and from hill to hill ; and after the battle is fought, the enchanting rod ‘ *Liberty* ’ will once more call forth the hidden treasures of industry. [Applause.]

“ Ladies and gentlemen, the history of your country's struggles for independence, as well as the rapid development of your prosperity, has been a favorite study to me from my early youth. The ardent love of liberty, melted together with my very heart, stimulated my mind to look around for instruction, not so much at ruins, the mournful monuments of the fragility of human things, but rather at a living, free nation, capable by its very life to teach the great art of life. [Ap-

plause.] I like to contemplate how freedom is to be gained, and how to be used; what are its generating powers, and what is the influence of institutions upon national character. It is natural that your country's wonderful progress in power and prosperity attracted my attention. Your country was not unknown to me, though my country had to fall, and I had to eat the bitter bread of exile, to see what I had but known by reading. And Lowell is too preëminent amongst the living wonders of America, that I had' not studied its very existence with high interest. [Applause.]

“Let me, therefore, tell you what it was which I felt particularly delighted in learning, from what I had read about Lowell.

“It was, that the character of the manufacturing industry of Lowell, in its influence upon the social condition of the operatives, appeared to me entirely different from what I have elsewhere seen; worthy of imitation, as it is full of instruction. Agriculture, manufacture and commerce, must, of course, give profit to the capital employed therein, else capital would not take that direction; and it is necessary that it should take that direction, else neither agriculture nor manufacture nor commerce could flourish, or even exist. If labor is the one great lever of prosperity, capital is the other. Out of the reciprocal combination of both results the welfare of a nation. They must, therefore, by the practical philosopher, be considered in their mutual combination. [Applause.]

“And still, in many countries, that false intuition prevailed, at the first establishment of manufacturing industry, that it is only capital the security and profit of which laws and institutions must protect. Hence, we have seen, in countries standing high in industrial skill, an extended manufacture connected with the most miserable condition of the operative masses,— princely fortunes of the few, hand in hand with the distress of millions. Capital, being elected to the unlimited mastership over labor, has lost all civic virtue in its activity. And, as it is a natural necessity that action creates reäction, excess of action leads to excess of reäction; and in some countries the neglected interests of labor revolted, with passionate hostility, against capital. Hence the fatal movement known by the name of Socialism, threatening with unnatural convulsion the social order of the respective countries. It is a mistake that that unfortunate movement can be crushed either by declamations or by violence. It is but a symptom of a deep, latent disease. Physicians know that a disease is not cured by beating down the symptoms; the cause of evil must be removed. [Applause.]

“Capital must have its profit; but the benefit of a nation’s industry cannot be considered as to how it shall profit the few, but how it shall act for the many. The greatest possible good to the greatest possible number, as an end to society, is laid down as a principle by Bentham. Indeed, power and despotism may contradict it; but, if society does not exist for the benefit of the members composing the society, I don’t know on what principle it does exist. [Applause.]

“Large factories, as the great field for the enterprise of capital, are highly beneficial. When numerous, they afford much opportunity for the exercise of labor, and opportunity for more to live; but, when not so numerous, the hidden powers of nature are developed to help men work out a benefit to themselves. But, out of those considerations to which I have alluded, I see a large number of facts connected with the sorrowful view of a degraded condition of the masses. Here, whatever else may be said, so much I know, and that is delightful, that the character of labor is such, its influence tends to quite different results from those in some other countries. [Applause.] You wisely avoid their faults, and escape their bad results, and put in activity, which makes industry most powerful and your country most happy.

“I am informed of three things in reference to Lowell :

“1. That while in some countries the laborer has no other prospect but only to go on from day to day in hard toil, with no hope of an independent position, here it is the particular character of industry that, to a large number of operatives who labor in the factory, it is but an apprenticeship to an independent existence.

“2. While in some other countries the crowded cities are places of moral degradation, Lowell is a temple of intelligence, and a sanctuary of morality. [Applause.] If that is the fact, praise to the man who made intelligence and morality the corner-stones upon which the industry of Lowell rests, and praise to the people who value this system as a beloved inheritance, which they are proud to transmit unshaken from generation to generation.

“The third peculiarity of which I heard about Lowell is, that the greatest part of those employed here are of the fair, — and I say it not to flatter, I flatter nobody, not even the ladies, but out of conviction I say it, — the greatest part are of the better sex. [Applause.] If that be true that this labor here is but an apprenticeship to future position, developing intelligence among the young ladies working in the factories, what immense treasure of family virtues and home happiness are spreading from Lowell over all the world! Self-acquired independence.

the means of a substantial position, intelligence, morality, industry, — these form the dowries which the ladies of Lowell will carry with them to their future homes, beautifying the future homes of those they will bless with their hands and hearts [applause], and spreading the comfort of intelligent cares over their household; all their virtues and all their noble qualities will go over from generation to generation, moulding the child's heart into that form which holds together a people's character. [Applause.]

“To-day, not out of books, but out of my own experience in Lowell, when I found all that has been told me true, I found a fourth quality amongst the other virtues,— that the people of Lowell also sympathize with the principle of liberty. That is another part of the dowry these ladies will take to their future homes, and another part of the moral inheritance they will transmit. [Applause.] If prosperous industry be the daughter of victorious liberty, it is well done not to forget the principle of liberty, when happily showing the fruits of it in prosperity. It is but the benefit, if I may call it benefit, which the son gives the father and the daughter the mother, such industry gives to liberty and humanity.

“Indeed, ladies and gentlemen, there is solidarity in the destinies of mankind. That is the word which those whom the people of Massachusetts have intrusted to represent them in their legislative halls greeted me with when I entered the flourishing metropolis of free and intelligent Massachusetts. It is a true word, and I am highly gratified to see the intelligence of Massachusetts convinced of it; that intelligence has not made the heart cold, but has a warmth from which springs a conviction like that which made Massachusetts first in the Revolution to maintain the principle of liberty, which is never secure if isolated. Community is its security, as I have said on a former occasion.

“Sir, you have been pleased to welcome me as the rightful Governor of Hungary. [Applause.] I accept it, not to have a high title (it is a high title bestowed upon me by the confidence of my people), but because there is a principle in it, a principle that a nation has a right to dispose of its own concerns.

“When I accepted this office, the highest my people could bestow, I raised my hands in the house of God, and swore an oath to do all in my power to maintain the freedom and independence of my country [applause]; and let what adversities may come, I will be faithful to that oath so long as my aim is not fulfilled, and my people is not in the condition to declare its own will! [Applause.]

“My people is my sovereign. God in heaven, my people on earth, I have no other master ! [Applause.]

“Whatever diplomacy may do, it would be sorrowful if there is not so much sentiment of liberty and justice on earth as to acknowledge a people’s rights because it is just now crushed by foreign violence. Neither truth nor justice depend from the triumph of despotism. [Applause.]

“I am happy to know, even from what I have seen in New England, that the people of the United States will acknowledge the principle that no other power is lawful but from the people’s will ; and so far as duty to home interest permits, the United States will not fail to take the position of a power on earth, by which they will contribute to that end, that the principle of liberty shall not be exclusive, but a common benefit to all humanity. [Applause.]

“My success may be greater or smaller ; but so much I can say to the millions of oppressed in Europe, to whom I must take an answer, — that the people of the United States, true to their own interests, and considering the exigencies of time and circumstances, will not consent not to weigh their weight in the scale in which the future destinies of mankind are to be weighed. Farewell, ladies and gentlemen !”

This speech was many times interrupted by the most hearty applause. It occupied nearly an hour in the delivery. Three cheers for Kossuth, and three more for Hungary, were given with a will, when the choir sung “My Native Land,” and the band struck up Yankee Doodle.

The mayor then announced that, contrary to general expectation, Kossuth would be obliged to return to Boston that night. After his departure, the vast assemblage slowly and quietly dispersed ; and thus ended, says the Lowell American, a day long to be remembered in the annals of Lowell.

Kossuth returned to Boston by the ten o’clock train.

KOSSUTH IN LYNN AND SALEM.

A MEETING of the citizens of Salem was called at Lyceum Hall, on Thursday, April 29, to take measures to invite Kossuth to visit that city, and to prepare for his reception.

Notwithstanding the short notice, there was a very respectable assemblage of men of all parties. Judge Mack called the meeting to order, when Hon. Stephen C. Phillips was appointed chairman, and Stephen Osborne secretary. Upon taking the chair, Mr. Phillips made an eloquent speech for the space of a half-hour or more. William D. Northend, from a committee, then offered a series of resolutions, which he advocated with energy and ability. After an expression of sympathy for the Hungarian cause, &c., the series concludes as follows :

“*Resolved*, That the citizens of Salem, a city distinguished in the annals of the Revolution as having offered the first armed resistance to the illegal and tyrannical demands of the British authorities ; and having, at the North Bridge, on the 26th of February, 1775, set the first example of the spirit which exhibited itself a short time after in the battles of Lexington and Concord ; bearing in mind the principles and events of that era, and desirous of honoring in GOVERNOR KOSSUTH the devotion and patriotism we reverence in our ancestors, hereby appoint a committee of twenty-four to make arrangements to have him invited to meet the citizens of Salem and vicinity in the largest public hall in the city, admission to be obtained by the purchase of a Hungarian bond, and the entire proceeds to be placed at his disposal.”

A committee of arrangements, without distinction of party, was then nominated, and a committee of invitation to wait upon Kossuth. The latter committee discharged their duty on Friday, April 30, and had a very agreeable interview with the Magyar, at the Revere House. Mr. Phillips, their chairman, delivered the invitation speech, which, says the Mail, was, in point of eloquence and cordiality, one of the very best that Kossuth has yet heard. It is to be regretted that it could not have been reported for the press. Kossuth replied in an impromptu and very feeling address of some fifteen minutes, with which the committee were greatly delighted. He accepted the invitation, and Thursday, May 6, was fixed upon as the day of his visit.

At Lynn, also, on Saturday evening, May 1, a meeting was held for the purpose of inviting Kossuth to visit that city. Hon. George Hood, the mayor, was called to the chair. Hon. D. C. Baker, Edward S. Davis, Ebenezer Brown, and John C. Vennard, Esqs., were appointed vice-presidents; and William H. Barry, J. F. Kimball and Lewis Josselyn, Esqs., secretaries. After addresses by the mayor, Messrs. Chamberlain, Harris, and others, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted, and a large committee appointed.

“Resolved, That we regard with admiration the exertions and sacrifices made by Governor Louis Kossuth in the cause of his country; that we recognize in him an exponent of the great principle of civil liberty; that we hold it right that the friends of freedom throughout the world should combine their sympathies in the common cause of humanity; and that we cordially extend to him the hospitalities of our citizens.

“Resolved, That we sympathize with the people of Hungary, and with the oppressed of all nations; and look forward with anxiety and hope to the time when all people will enjoy that rational and enlightened liberty which is the right of all.

“Resolved, That we extend to Governor Kossuth a cordial invitation to visit our city, and address us on the subject of his mission; and that a committee be appointed to communicate to him this invitation, and to make all suitable arrangements for his reception.”

At about half-past twelve Kossuth and suite, in company with Messrs. Burlingame and Ward, of the State Committee, left the Boston Eastern Railroad station, on their way to Lynn and Salem. They were accompanied by Messrs. E. S. Davis, B. F. Mudge, J. B. Alley, Thomas Raddin and Alonzo Lewis, the committee of invitation of Lynn, and Messrs. Baker, Porter, Pearson, Barry and Vennard, of the committee of arrangements. At a few minutes before one o'clock, a discharge of cannon and the ringing of bells announced the arrival of the Magyar at the West Lynn station. Here a large concourse of citizens had assembled, and a carriage drawn by six beautiful cream-colored horses was in waiting. Kossuth entered this carriage in company with his Honor the Mayor, and the members of the State Committee. Other carriages were filled with Kossuth's suite, the committee of arrangements and members of the city government; and a procession was formed, which proceeded, under escort of the “Kossuth Guards,” Capt. Gale, to the Common.

Arrived here, shouts of welcome from the assembled multitude

greeted Kossuth, which he repeatedly and gracefully acknowledged. Upon the Common were marshalled the children of the public schools, with their teachers, in two long lines, four companies of firemen acting as a kind of body-guard. The procession came in at the western gate, and passed through these lines,—Kossuth bowing and smiling to the children, who waved tiny Hungarian flags, and cheered him as he passed.

On reaching the eastern gate, the procession, consisting of the military and the firemen, with several appropriate banners, and a cavalcade of citizens, proceeded direct to Lyceum Hall, where five or six hundred bondholders were assembled to listen to the eloquent Hungarian. A short delay occurred, in order to give Kossuth a moment to rest himself after leaving the carriage, as he was quite ill and exhausted from his late excessive and constant exertions; and when he entered the hall, which he did amid cheers that made the house tremble, he looked pale and feeble, and seemed hardly able to stand. After ascending the platform and acknowledging the greetings of the assembly, he sank back upon the sofa quite exhausted.

At the back of the hall, fronting the platform, a motto was inscribed,—“LYNN HONORS KOSSUTH,” and underneath it gracefully drooped the American flag. After the cheers of the multitude had subsided, his Honor the Mayor rose and addressed the audience, stating that, owing to the illness of his Excellency the Governor of Hungary, he would not be able to address them, and that he should not inflict a speech upon him or them; then, turning to the illustrious guest, he said:

MAYOR OF LYNN'S ADDRESS.

“GOVERNOR KOSSUTH: In behalf of the City Council and of the people of Lynn, in accordance with their unanimous voice, I bid you a cordial and earnest welcome to our city.

“Sir, you have the hearts of this people, because they love liberty; and they recognize in you a true representative and an able exponent of their principles. They regard with admiration the patriotic exertions and heroic sacrifices you have made in the cause of your country, and the unsurpassed eloquence and power with which you have pleaded that just cause before the people of England and America. The countless wrongs, and crushing oppressions, inflicted upon your noble nation, have met with the indignant condemnation of the American people. You have appealed to the government and to the people of the United

States 'to maintain the laws of nations against foreign interference,' and the principles you have enunciated have received a fitting response from the friends of freedom.

"Sir, we approved of the action of our government, when you and your brave companions in exile were invited to our shores, and a national vessel sent to receive you. We rejoiced when we heard that you were safe from Austrian tyranny, under the protection of the flag of our Union. When you stepped on the deck of the Mississippi, and our gallant tars greeted you with cheers that made the sea tremble, their echoes were borne across the ocean, and met with an enthusiastic response in the hearts of millions of freemen.

"We think you were right in being confident that the people of the United States would not feel in any way *compromised*, on learning that the citizens of Marseilles did, in a graceful manner, cheer the United States and yourself.

"The Legislature of Massachusetts has rightly expressed the will of the people, by inviting you, and receiving you as the guest of the commonwealth.

"Accept, sir, our sympathy for your misfortunes, our heartfelt wishes for the success of your patriotic mission for the redemption of Hungary, and our prayers for your future welfare.

"Fellow-citizens, I present to you Governor Kossuth, the friend of liberty and the rights of mankind."

As he closed, Kossuth, whose feeble state compelled him to remain sitting, rose slowly and stepped forward, bowing gracefully, as cheer after cheer, from a thousand voices, greeted him. He was dressed in a close-fitting velvet coat or sack, embroidered upon the front and sleeves, and trimmed with jet buttons. His countenance exhibited marks of great bodily weakness; but his eye flashed with an intensity which denoted that, though the body was weak and exhausted, the spirit still retained its energy and fire. The sympathy which greeted him seemed to have given him new life; and, much to the astonishment and satisfaction of the assembly, he spoke extemporaneously for three-quarters of an hour.

"LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: Out of my heart I humbly thank you, and thank also the corporate authorities of your city, for this welcome, and for all the kind sympathy you have shown me to-day. You, sir, have been pleased to say that the people of Lynn have a love of

liberty in their hearts, and that is why they love my cause. That is an explanation of the wonderful things I have met with in the United States, almost unparalleled in history. When Lafayette came to America, you received him with distinguished honors; but he was a man who had done some good to America; and it was a glorious thing for that man, who had seen liberty baptized in blood, coming back after many years, to see prosperity and power springing out of that very cause to which he had devoted his mind. As to myself, I have in no manner had an opportunity to do good to the United States, and, it may be, never can have; and yet, you honor me in such a manner, which I take to be an evidence that you are not indifferent to coming events, which must mark the era when the solidarity of nations will be established. [Applause.]

“Here, if I am not mistaken, in Lynn, it is the character of the people that they are agriculturists, mechanics, and fishermen. In every one of these I have hope for my cause, and I may trust to meet sympathy. Agriculturists, from a continued intercourse with the inexhaustible beauties of nature, must have generous hearts. As to mechanics, every character of industry connected with intelligence is favorable to the development of generous hopes for humanity. It is an ancient truth that, among mechanics of comparatively small business, who are their own masters and have an independent position, circumstances are not only favorable to the love of, but to aspirations for, the ‘crime’ of liberty. You know, when freedom was crushed nearly on the continent of Europe, it was only conserved in those cities where the population was composed of mechanics who had obtained a substantial position by industry. [Applause.] For this reason, I am not surprised that the Hungarian exile is here received as a brother. [Applause.] As to that part of the population called fishermen, I can say they must be bold sailors; and, as it is not possible just now to bridge the Atlantic, at whatever part of Hungary I may one day land, bold sailors, at the first step, will be indeed necessary.

“Some people have taken the heart to be subordinate to the head. It is not true. Always the heart of a people takes whatever course is right. Individuals in affection may be mistaken, but the great heart of a people is never wrong. [Applause.] And so much as the instinct of a people’s heart is always right, I am glad to see, after calm consideration by the intellect, in which for months the people of Massachusetts have been engaged, still that heart beat on as it did years

ago, when the liberties of your own country were threatened. [Applause.]

“Gentlemen, look back into history, and you see that either one principle has ruled the world, or two principles have contended for sway. Now, in the future of mankind, it is only possible that the more the principle of liberty gains ground, the more will the impression prevail that it is not one nation that should rule, but that it can be the glorious destiny of one nation to be first among the equal nations. In every case the United States can only be the first among the equal nations, or must rule the destinies of mankind. If it must go on, that one nation must preponderate, all humanity can but wish that to be the United States; because, founded on the principle of freedom to the benefit of all humanity [applause], and if the world has to be ruled by somebody, all the nations pray it may be by the United States. [Applause.] But rather, as I believe, on the other side, if it is not to claim to sway other nations, but to maintain its independent position on earth as a power, then it must be the wish of all humanity that it shall remain the first-born son of liberty.

“Now, on the other side, if the principle of absolutism takes sway of the destinies of humanity, Russia must rule; or, if not, must be first among the equal, not in liberty, but despotism. It is impossible that the people of the United States cannot see that these principles must come in contact sooner or later,—but, if not in contact, one, at least, must encroach upon the other; and remember, gentlemen, it is taught in history that those nations have met the greatest danger which have let antagonistic powers take advantage of circumstances;—and every nation relying too much on its own strength has perished, while every nation wise enough not to abandon its destiny, but to take advantage of circumstances, and even make opportunities, has become a power on earth. I will be just even toward my enemies, and therefore I will say, no nation understands the difficult art of using circumstances better than Russia. It is indeed skilful,—but not for liberty, only to rule a world of serfs and slaves.

“Gentlemen, in public as often as in private life, it happens we see not dangers afar off; but yet, from a distant point, matters may affect materially the interest of nations at home. Indeed, it is my opinion that Hungary is the field where must be decided which principle should in future rule the destinies of mankind; and then that is a field worthy the highest sympathy and the closest attention of every man, and any power on earth loving liberty; and now, therefore, every man and

every power on earth loving liberty cannot but be affected by the struggle now engaged on the field of Hungary,— yes, engaged.

“ You know we fought our battles bravely, but we were crushed ; yet we are not made insensible to oppression, because we have now to endure it. The struggle is not over. There is now only a momentary stop in the battle. Both armies are recruiting, as it were ; the victorious to take advantage of that victory, and the defeated party — not defeated by want of bravery, but because not recognized — healing past wounds, and preparing again to resist this oppression at a new Kapolna, which is the Bunker Hill of Hungary. [Applause.]

“ Gentlemen and ladies, it has been my intention in these remarks to show that the heart of the people is right. I am very well satisfied with the result of my visit to the United States, in that respect that I know, whenever the standard of freedom is again raised in Europe,— and that time indeed draws nigh,— no power on earth will make the people to look indifferently upon the struggle that will ensue. [Prolonged applause.] I know the sentiment of the people of the United States. I have met them in the greatest portion of the country ; and now in Massachusetts, where intelligence is spread to a greater degree than I have seen it anywhere in the world besides,— in Massachusetts, always first to feel the exigencies of the times, and possessing the energy to meet them [applause],— the Legislature has pronounced in favor of the law of nations, and the Governor has sustained that word ; and you, sir, tell me that the Legislature and the Governor represent the will of the people. [Applause.] So it was, indeed, also, it is my duty to mention with gratitude, in another state, the young state of Ohio, with a population of two millions,— just, indeed, so old as I am, born in the very year,— it has taken the same ground, declaring it is not only the duty, but the interest, of the United States, to go for the principle of liberty as far as the league of despots dare go against it ; and even from these circumstances I cannot doubt that, when the opportunity may come, the people of the United States will not look indifferently to the struggle between liberty and absolutism.

“ But, gentlemen, a poor exile like me, who loves his country, may be a little egotistical, and may be excused for it ; and, therefore, I may say I take the United States to be powerful enough not to wait an opportunity, but also to make an opportunity,— because, as I have said on another occasion, it is better to be the master of coming times, than let them rush on, increasing in danger as they rush. But I take human nature as it is, and do not ask the United States to take the

position to make opportunity, as I could otherwise wish, to avert danger from humanity, seeing the league of despots gain ground, and not desiring it should become predominant, but rather prevented from so becoming.

“ However, we are not much inclined to believe that the lightning in the far-off cloud may come down and strike our house; therefore, I would not ask the United States to make opportunity. But I may say, whatever may be the difference of opinion as to policy, every man of sound judgment must say, that when such an unnatural state of things exists that the death of Louis Napoleon may make a revolution, an opportunity must come, — which, indeed, I well know, from circumstances I cannot disclose — which might be safe among friends, but might also reach other quarters, — if this opportunity must come, then I only claim here now the consideration that for ourselves it is our interest to prepare for that struggle which will follow.

“ If we are not prepared when the time of action comes, then in preparation we may consume time of which every moment teems with the destinies of mankind. For this preparation I appeal to private sympathy. Gentlemen, if tidings should come to-morrow that circumstances called me to Europe to begin the struggle, it would be quite different if I have the means in hand, or if I had no money, no arms, no friends, but must prepare everything. Just as the merchant, who might be called from your city on important business. It would be quite different, if he had his horses and his carriage ready, or if he had to go into the country and buy his horses, before he could make the journey. [Applause.]

“ I know there are two parties in the United States. One party has so much as adopted the principle that it is the interest of the United States to maintain the law of nations; but the other party, out of policy, opposes the ground that the United States should become a power on earth. It appears now to me of great interest, for those who are opposed to action by the United States, just to put the leaders of the coming struggle in a position where they may perhaps prevent the necessity that the United States should take a national part to maintain the law of nations. This may be considered another motive to do all, consistent with individual interest, privately, to prevent the United States from acting out of necessity.

“ There may be differences of opinion as to policy, here and there; but if those millions who will struggle in Europe to throw off oppression had so much aid as might here be given without sacrifice, the prin-

ciple of liberty would indeed be sure. One dollar only from every person,— twenty million dollars,— O, my God! what things could be done! [Applause.] And, indeed, there is not in any village so many poor, that, out of twenty, one man could not bestow, by one day's labor, a poor alms to liberty of one dollar.

“The people of the United States are conservative enough. Their own Revolution was a conservative revolution, because they conserved their rights; therefore that is the word,— they are conservative enough not to go too far. Of that I am not afraid.

“Gentlemen, I am so sick I did not think it possible I could speak so long. You will excuse me if I have not answered your expectations. I do not love money for myself; but if somebody would open a gold mine for me, I could take out from it gold on my shoulders for my country till the physical man gave way,—but when the body failed, I must sit down to rest. The gold mine of your sympathy is before me; and I am told, to get the treasure, I must attend meetings and speak to you; but when the body is outworn, I must rest.

“I have not been interesting; but men like you, who love liberty, need not be moved by eloquence to think right and act right. Therefore there is nothing necessary but for me to thank you again, and hope that, though you forget the poor exile, you will conserve a small place in your hearts for his cause; and if Lynn does not hereafter honor Kossuth, Lynn will honor Hungary.”

At the conclusion of this speech, the audience pressed to the platform to shake hands with Kossuth; but the state of his health would not permit him to be introduced to them, and he was immediately conducted from the hall to his carriage.

The procession was re-formed, and proceeded down Market-street, up Union to Exchange-street, thence through Broad and Silsbee to Union-street, to the central station, where a special train was waiting to convey him to Salem. After shaking hands with the chief marshal and his aids, and a few others then in company with the mayor and the committee, Kossuth stepped into the car, and the train moved on amid the cheers of the people.

On arriving at Salem, he was greeted with the shouts of a dense multitude, which lined his way from the railroad station to the City Hall. He was received at the depot by a committee, and was conveyed to the City Hall in an elegant barouche, drawn by a magnificent team of six black horses, followed by carriages containing his suite, several

members of the State and Lynn committees, and others. In the Common Council chamber, which contained as many spectators (including a large circle of ladies) as could be admitted, the formal introduction to the city authorities took place.

Hon. Charles Wentworth Upham, the mayor, welcomed him thus:

MAYOR UPHAM'S ADDRESS.

“In the name of my associates in its municipal government, I bid you welcome to the city of Salem.

“The shortness of the time you are to be with us, and all the circumstances of the occasion, require me to condense the sentiments your presence awakens, into the briefest possible expression.

“A world-wide commerce has made the people of this place, from the first, conversant with the idea of humanity in its broadest acceptation, and our history connects us particularly with some of the most memorable incidents in the progress of modern liberty. For these reasons, you are sure of a special welcome here.

“I shall, in passing through some of our streets, point out to you the spot where the first delegates were elected to the Continental Congress, and where a Colonial House of Assembly, in 1774, under the guns of royal troops, and in defiance of a royal governor, transformed themselves, by vote, into an independent legislature, thus creating the civil government that carried Massachusetts through the war of Independence, and has continued, without interruption, from that day to this. We shall cross our North Bridge, where the first open resistance was effectually made to the power of Great Britain, in arms, more than six weeks before the battle of Lexington. I hope to have time to carry you into the confines of a neighboring town, that you may behold the monument erected by grateful affection and patriotic pride over the remains of the gallant young men of Danvers, who, rushing to the field from the most distant point, and falling in the thickest of the fight, contributed the blood of Essex among the largest proportions to the first great sacrifice, on the 19th of April, 1775.

“You meet everywhere diversity of opinion in reference to the policy which liberal governments ought to adopt. That, sir, is a question of time, and cannot be a question in any other sense. A great conflict must come, sooner or later. This truth was discerned a quarter of a century ago, by the cabinet at Washington, and proclaimed to the world by President Monroe. It was simultaneously discerned by the cabinet at London, and proclaimed by Mr. Canning, when,

having espoused the cause of the South American republics, he uttered the proud but most significant boast, that he had 'called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old.' At that time, this statesman, who, more than any other that ever stood at the British helm, comprehended the inevitable tendencies of society, predicted a fearful and final 'war of opinion,' as he expressed it, throughout the civilized world; and he further declared that in the war the United States of America and Great Britain would be on the same side,— 'the daughter and the mother,' to use his own words, 'standing together against the world.' A common language, a common commercial enterprise, and a common enjoyment of self-regulated liberty, must compel these two nations to fall into the same line, in the impending world-crisis; and you, sir, more than any other man, have had such evidence of the spirit of their people as to make it sure that, in the great day of trial, they will suffer no other banner to wave over them, on either side of the Atlantic, than the banner of the free.

"The result of the conflict is as certain as its occurrence is inevitable. And, when the smoke of the battle clears away, the light of an unclouded sky will everywhere be reflected from independent nations. In that day,— God grant, indeed, that it may be even sooner! — your own dear and glorious father-land will stand forth in her radiant beauty, and be hailed again as the rampart of Christendom, — her martyrs avenged, her exiles restored, and her freedom established forever.

"Sir, your devout and reverential recognition of the great ideas of religion, on all occasions, adds to the other powers of eloquence its highest and most potent charm. The elemental laws controlling the destinies of nations, and working out the advancement of the race, you acknowledge and adore as the hand of Providence. The temporary interests of states, the policies of cabinets, the power of thrones or of parties, cannot withstand the operations of that Hand. In your toils and sorrows, faith in the overruling Power that has the welfare of humanity in its sure keeping will be your steadfast reliance.

"We had hoped to receive you, as we rejoice to receive all the victims of oppression, to an American home; but, in the conviction you entertain that the great crisis is near at hand, you hear the voice of duty summoning you back to the Old World. May the blessing of Heaven, in answer to the prayers of freemen, attend you!"

KOSSUTH'S REPLY.

“I thank you, sir, and through you the authorities of the city of Salem. I thank you for that sympathy you have expressed with the principle of liberty. You have been pleased to speak of eloquence in respect to me. If there be anything in my stammering words to attract attention, it is not because of my eloquence, but because of the truth of the principle of liberty which I claim. For this principle the heart of the people of America feels warmly. So far it goes as even to show me personal kindness and affection. I was aware of that circumstance before I came, that Canning's proud words proved true;—but he was a little arrogant to say he had called a new world into existence. It was God who did it; but not only to redress the balance of power, but the wrongs of humanity,—for I have yet to learn that the people of the United States will not go as far to maintain the law of nations as the finger of God may point out. It may be that Hungary will act the part of danger in the coming struggle; but she seeks not to be glorious, for patriotism is only a duty. So much I know of the United States,—the world will see her banner waving yet, with that of Great Britain, to protect the rights of humanity. What are all the petty differences of parties, in comparison with such principles as affect the destinies of mankind?”

“I am happy to meet here, in the United States, a harmony with public authorities and the people's will; and I am indeed happy to meet here that harmony in the Council-chamber of Salem in respect to the cause of all humanity. I thank the gentlemen of the Council for what they have added to the warm sentiment of the people.”

While the mayor was addressing him, Kossuth manifested the deepest emotion, and very frequently took him by the hand, pressing it with kindly acknowledgment. His reply was much more full and expressive than the sketch as reported. After he had concluded, he was introduced personally to many of those present; among others, to the venerable John Punchard, now in his ninety-first year, the oldest male inhabitant of Salem, and a Revolutionary soldier. It was affecting to witness the tender earnestness and evident mutual satisfaction which characterized the interview between the exiled patriot and the venerable judge.

After the ceremonies at the City Hall, the party were re-conducted

to the carriages, and proceeded through several of the streets. Everywhere Kossuth was greeted with the most enthusiastic cheers. When he passed through Washington-square, around the northern mall of which were arrayed about two thousand of the pupils of the public schools, the entire common appeared to be covered with the people, presenting a most lively and delightful spectacle.

The procession of carriages advanced, at a moderate pace, towards Danvers, where, around the monument to the Lexington martyrs, which was gayly decorated, the people had assembled, with the school-children, to welcome the Hungarian. Here Kossuth alighted, for a few moments, and stepped upon a platform erected for the purpose, where he was addressed by John W. Proctor, Esq.

MR. PROCTOR'S ADDRESS AT DANVERS.

“GOVERNOR KOSSUTH: The citizens of Danvers, sympathizing with oppressed humanity wherever it may be found, have heard of the wrongs done to the land of your birth with the liveliest emotions. The earliest recollections of their infancy have been aroused by the narrative of the sufferings of your countrymen. They have heard of the noble deeds and sacrifices of yourself and your associates, in defence of liberty. They know that the motto adopted by our fathers, in their struggle for independence, ‘*Liberty or Death,*’ is your motto. They rejoice in the opportunity to greet you, as the representative of liberty in the Old World; and to bid you a hearty welcome to this asylum for the oppressed, in the *New*.

“Though the strong arm of arbitrary power, and the treacherous wiles of the artful and unprincipled, may hitherto have thwarted your hopes, still, as sure as there is a God in heaven,—and that there is ‘all nature proclaims aloud through all her works,’—justice will be done, and the oppressed shall go free.

“By the kind attention of our friends of Salem, we now enjoy the privilege of meeting you for a moment. We feel that we have no right to trespass upon *that time* which is theirs to command. We are most happy, sir; to meet you on this spot, sacred to the memory of those whose blood was poured out on the 19th of April, 1775, a *first oblation* to freedom in America. We need only remind you of the simple narrative of their adventure.

“On the morning of April 19th, 1775, at the first sound of alarm that ‘the British troops had started for Concord,’ the troops of Salem

and vicinity assembled, under Colonel Pickering, their commander, afterwards eminently known as the friend and confidant of Washington. The militia and minute-men of Danvers, to the number of one hundred, with the consent of the colonel, under Captains Eppes and Foster, had started in advance. With such ardor did they move, that they travelled, *on foot, sixteen miles in four hours*, and met the enemy, on their return from Concord, at West Cambridge, near Lexington. Here a conflict ensued, in which seven of their number, all in the prime and vigor of manhood, were slain. To their memory was this monument erected, by voluntary contributions of the citizens, on the sixtieth anniversary of the battle; the corner-stone of which was laid by their commander, Gen. Gideon Foster, who lived to the advanced age of ninety-six years, highly esteemed, for his valor and virtues, by all who knew him. Such, sir, was the part taken by the citizens of Danvers, at the beginning of our struggle for independence; and so did they continue to aid the cause of freedom, as opportunity offered, to the end. We would not *boast* of what our fathers did, because we know their noble spirits would disdain to be praised for doing their duty; but simply notice it, as an act of justice to their memory. Few, if any, towns in the country, engaged with more ardor and efficiency, in the contest for their liberties, than Danvers. Early oppressed, as they felt, by the special interposition of the tool of the crown, in the restriction of their rights to choose their own representatives, they were prompt to embrace the opportunity to vindicate them.

“After seven years of toil and suffering, their efforts were crowned with success. Not so with the patriots of your father-land. The treachery of Austria, and the despotism of Russia, when combined, were found too powerful to be controlled by any human agency. A just God, in his own due time, will relieve the down-trodden and deliver the oppressed.

“We rejoice, sir, that the executive of this nation, and the executive of the good commonwealth of Massachusetts, have both fearlessly extended to you the *right hand of fellowship*, with a cordial grasp. A sympathy thus uttered will not fail to be echoed through every land where the spirit of freedom has an abode.

“If, sir, there shall be left on your mind, by anything you have this day seen or heard, in the humble village of Danvers, a single impression that shall encourage your hopes and strengthen your arm in defence of freedom and suffering humanity, we shall look upon the

day we were privileged to take you by the hand, on our own soil, as one of the happiest we have known. We bid you God speed in the noble cause of universal freedom; and commend to your notice the appropriate inscription on this monument, to the memory of our fellow-citizens: ‘Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori.’ ”

KOSSUTH'S REPLY.

“I feel highly delighted to stand on ground hallowed by the recollections of devoted patriotism, and sanctified to the memory of all humanity, by most pleasing remembrances; for never yet had martyr blood been spilled for freedom so fructuous as the blood spilled at Lexington. You are free, independent and powerful; and, if it is true that spirits of the better world are permitted to know something of the affairs of this world, how the spirit of those whose great deeds this monument commemorates must rejoice to see the spirit of liberty spreading, and even be glad to witness the sympathy you show for poor, down-trodden Hungary. I know the circumstance that it was a minister of this vicinity [Mr. Barnard],—I do not know how intimately, but I assume it as a fact that you were more or less connected with your neighbors,—I know, I say, the circumstance that it was a minister of this vicinity who prevented Salem from becoming the Lexington of the Revolution; and I know what the people did when Colonel Leslie would have come into their town over the North Bridge. Now suppose, gentlemen, when Colonel Leslie came to that bridge, and he was told he could not pass, somebody had stepped out and said, ‘This will not do; we must not oppose; he must pass, or we shall have a war.’ [Applause.] They did oppose, and what was the consequence? Colonel Leslie thought better of it, and marched his troops back again.

“Now, gentlemen, let the people of the United States look only to the Czar as the people of 1775 did to Colonel Leslie, and, indeed, I think there would not be much danger of war. I am quite sure he would do as Colonel Leslie did.” [Applause.]

This little speech was received with rapturous cheers; but here, again, the report fails to give his remarks in all their expressiveness and beauty. Weary and worn as he was, his great abilities as an orator could be plainly discerned.

Returning to the city, Kossuth proceeded to the Essex House, where

opportunity was allowed for rest and refreshment. After dinner, Mr. Pulszky and several of the strangers were conducted to the East India Museum, which they examined with great interest.

The meeting at Mechanic Hall, in the evening, was a very large one. Hon. S. C. Phillips presided, and there was a long list of vice-presidents, &c. Lieut. Gov. Cushman, several of the Executive Council, members of the State Committee, and other distinguished strangers, were present, and music added its attractions. When Kossuth entered the hall, the entire audience arose and greeted him with a storm of cheers, the ladies enthusiastically joining in the welcome, and the band adding its inspiring notes. We have rarely, if ever, witnessed such an outburst of welcoming plaudits. Frequently afterwards, during the evening, a similar tempest of applause broke forth, and at the close the cheering was enthusiastic and long-continued.

The hall was neatly embellished with flags and mottoes for the occasion. An arch, covered with banners, was thrown across the stage, and on it was inscribed, "FRANKLIN AND KOSSUTH." At the opposite end of the hall was a scroll bearing the inscription, "WASHINGTON AND LAFAYETTE." Around the galleries was displayed, in large letters, the motto from a speech of Kossuth: "WE RELY ON OUR GOD, THE JUSTNESS OF OUR CAUSE, IRON WILLS, HONEST HEARTS, AND GOOD SWORDS."

ADDRESS OF HON. STEPHEN C. PHILLIPS.

"LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: This occasion must be regarded and remembered as one of peculiar interest. To many, and probably to most of you, it affords an opportunity for the first, and also for the last time, of beholding the countenance and of listening to the voice of the patriot and orator whom you have earnestly desired to see and to hear, and are now permitted. It likewise affords an opportunity of expressing your sympathy for the country which such a patriot has served, and for the cause of which he is the advocate; that country, than which there is none more deserving to be free, and that cause, eternal as truth, and universal as humanity, which concerns alike all nations that have achieved or are struggling for their freedom.

"In favoring us with this visit to our ancient city,—comparatively ancient in our young republic,—Governor Kossuth finds himself where we may be justly proud to meet him, on hallowed ground. As he treads the soil of the second landing-place of the Pilgrims, it is not

necessary to inform him that its original population was the 'choice grain' which 'God sifted a whole nation that he might bring into this wilderness.' It is not necessary to rehearse before him the services and sacrifices of that goodly company of saints and martyrs, which, with Governor Winthrop at their head, brought hither in the Arbella the first sufficient charter of a local government in America. Their works have followed them; the results of their policy, civil and ecclesiastical, are still visibly inscribed upon the character of Massachusetts; and the distinction which they conferred upon Salem may be learned from the fact that it contains the sites upon which they reared the first church in America, and the first free school in the world. Our distinguished visiter, in his hasty tour through a portion of the city and its environs, has witnessed one memorial, and has passed one spot, which attests that here, as elsewhere in Massachusetts, the people were prepared, and amongst the first that were prepared, for the outbreak of the American Revolution. In crossing the North Bridge, he has seen where, in advance of the battle of Lexington, the British troops met and yielded to an armed resistance; and the inscription upon the monument in Danvers has told him what a contribution was made from this quarter to the first sacrifice of life in battle for the country's independence. As earned upon all its principal battle-fields amidst promiscuous successes and disasters, Salem was not without its share in the varied glory of the Revolution; and it also bore a corresponding share of the burdens and privations which the service of the country then required.

“In peace, however, rather than in war, and chiefly by the prosecution of a foreign commerce,

‘*Divitis Indiæ
Usque ad ultimum sinum,*’

has Salem acquired the reputation which properly belongs to her. Of the tendencies and distinguishing characteristics of the commercial interest, of its relations to other interests, of the reciprocal influence exerted by commerce and liberal institutions, of the commercial benefit to every nation already free, of an increase of the number of free nations, of the true commercial policy of promoting by all practicable means the diffusion of freedom, I deem it unnecessary in the presence of our guest to attempt to speak. In his first speech in Faneuil Hall, by a clear conception of the contrast as it should present itself, he has shown in effect what the mercantile class under a despotism is and

must be, and what the merchants of a republic may and should become; and, in the appeal which he has made to intelligent merchants, not to mistake, not to abandon, not to seek to overthrow, but, on the contrary, to understand, to sustain and to help forward, his cause, he deserves to be met, as I trust that here and elsewhere amongst merchants he will be met, at least with candor, with a willingness to be convinced by unanswerable argument, and to receive the testimony of incontrovertible facts.

“I now beg leave, sir, to introduce you to the company assembled upon this occasion. It is composed of citizens of Salem, and of the neighboring towns of Danvers, Beverly and Marblehead. It is composed, as you see, according to our Massachusetts custom, of ladies and gentlemen, parents and children; of the young, the middle-aged and the elderly; of representatives of all classes and conditions in the community.

“In introducing you to such an assembly, I present you to your friends; to friends of your cause, friends of your country, friends to whom you are well known, although a stranger, and by whom you will be remembered, if they should never see you again.

“I present you, sir, in that character which you do not shrink from assuming, as a martyr of freedom, and the indomitable champion of the rights of your betrayed, oppressed, down-trodden father-land. We are sure that it is not of yourself that you desire to speak; that it is not for yourself that you invoke our sympathy; and we join you in regarding as beyond all personal interests the claims of a cause like that of your country. We recognize the similarity, in many important respects, of the condition of Hungary to that of the United States, when they struggled to be free. We notice, more particularly, some striking resemblances, in character and municipal institutions, between the people of Hungary and the people of Massachusetts. We trust, sir, that you see something in Massachusetts that reminds you of Hungary. We are sure, at least, that you cannot fail to discover that Massachusetts hearts instinctively respond to Hungarian appeals.

“This is, of necessity, an occasion of mingled joy and sadness, since it requires us at once to bid you welcome and farewell. Welcome, as you come amongst us to enkindle in our hearts a renewed love of liberty, to extend and strengthen the tie of human brotherhood. Farewell, as you go bound in the spirit to *Europe*, not knowing the things which shall befall you there. That there are before you appalling responsibilities, which you must incur,—severer trials,

heavier cares, more formidable obstacles, than you have yet encountered,—who can doubt? Your intellectual efforts and physical exertions can scarcely be more arduous than they are already here; and in this respect I almost apprehend that you may experience some relief in escaping from your friends in America, even to meet your enemies in Hungary. Still the path upon which you are to reënter must be, throughout its extent, a path of danger; and how far at first, and how far till the last, you will be aided, according to your need of aid, in avoiding and resisting danger, it is impossible to foresee.

“But your stout heart and iron will have not forsaken you. The uncertainty of the prospect does not dishearten you. It may be in your power to command resources and to create opportunities as yet unexpected. You can bear to be disappointed. ‘Again, ever again,’ you will be prepared to renew the struggle, and you will persevere unto the end. You can trust your countrymen. When you resume your station at their head, they will surround and follow you, and render you invincible. You can trust your friends in America for sympathy, and more than sympathy,—for ‘material aid,’ for remonstrance against your oppressors, for a coöperation, if it be practicable, with Great Britain, that shall make such remonstrance effectual,—and, it may be, if need be, for more direct and potential interposition.

“Above all, sir, as you have often reverently declared,—and that declaration completes our confidence in your character and cause,—your trust is in God. *Our fathers trusted in Him, and he delivered them; they trusted in Him, and were not confounded. All our fathers were under the cloud, and all passed through the sea;* and, with hearts trustful as your own, we will hope and pray that, under the same divine protection, your passage through the mighty deep of your future may be so guided and guarded, that, once at home in Hungary, the ‘happiness of WASHINGTON’ shall be yours!”

Kossuth rose and delivered the following reply:

KOSSUTH'S SPEECH AT SALEM.

“SIR: I am told that I am amongst friends. Friendship, in every condition of life, is a fair gift of God; but it is necessary to be an exile, homeless, a wanderer without a single place to rest upon, to feel the full consolation embraced in the word friend.

“You have been so kind, sir, as to remark that you know it is not

of myself I desire to speak. Indeed, it is true I have no motives of a personal nature; and this is no merit of my own. Our Saviour taught us to love ourselves less than our neighbors, or to love our neighbors as ourselves. The personal interest I have in my labor is no quality against which the most rigid judge could object. The part which I act is a necessity of my nature; my whole life is a necessity of it.

“If I had any occasion to perceive a change in my nature,— and O my God! among friends would it not be easy to say, give me an asylum where I may repose?— would you deny the request? O, no! and would it not be a fair place to rest my weary head?”

“I am about to meet dangers for my country’s sake. After what you have said of your sympathy for my cause, it is almost unnecessary for me to speak; still, I have to do it, and I rely upon your kind indulgence while I speak. If I had time, I should have made preparation; but for short speeches much time is required. Therefore, if I tire you to-night in my address, be pleased to speak, and I will stop.

“LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: When, four years ago, the tidings of our gigantic struggle made the scarcely before known name of Hungary familiar to you, it was the instinct of sympathy for a nobly-defended noble cause which moved your hearts to rejoice at our victories, to feel anxiety about our dangers, and to mourn our unmerited fall. And yet, so long as our struggle was but a domestic contest, a resistance against oppression by a perjurious king, you had no reason to think that the sympathy you felt for us, being a generous manifestation of the affections of free men, is in the same time an instinctive presentiment of a policy which you, in your national capacity, will ever be called upon by circumstances not only to consider, but, as I firmly believe, also to adopt.

“You were far from anticipating that the issue of our struggle will become an opportunity for your country to take that position which Divine Providence has evidently assigned to you; I mean the position of not only a power restricted in its influence to the Western Hemisphere, but of a power on earth. You had not thought of that it is the struggle of Hungary which will call on you to fulfil the prophecy of Canning, who wisely has comprehended that it is the destiny of the New World to redress the balance of power in the Old.

“The universal importance of our struggle has been but late revealed. It has been revealed by the interference of Russia, and by

our fall, and by the already developed and still more threatening results of our fall.

“Now, it has become evident to all thinking men that the balance of power cannot be redressed on earth, without Hungary is restored to national independence. Consequently that, if it be your own necessity to weigh in the scale of the powers on earth, if it be your destiny to redress the balance of power on earth, the cause of Hungary is the field where this destiny will have to be fulfilled.

“And it is, indeed, your destiny. Russian diplomacy could never boast of a greater and more fatal victory than it had a right to boast, should it succeed to persuade the United States not to care about her—Russia—accomplishing her aim to become the ruling power in Europe, the ruling power in Asia, the ruling power of the Mediterranean Sea. That would be, indeed, a great triumph to Russian diplomacy,—greater than her triumph over Hungary; but a triumph dreadful to all humanity, but to nobody more dreadful than to your own future.

“All sophistry is in vain, gentlemen; there can be no mistake about it. Russian absolutism and Anglo-Saxon constitutionalism are not rival but antagonistical powers. They cannot long more subsist together. Antagonists cannot hold equal position; every additional strength of the one is a comparative weakening of the other. One or the other must yield. One or the other must perish, or become dependent on the other's will.

“You may, perhaps, believe that that triumph of diplomacy is impossible in America. But I am sorry to say that it has a dangerous ally in that propensity which in some quarters still may be met with,—in the propensity to believe that the field of American policy is limited by geographic limits; that there is a field for American and there is a field for European policy, and that these fields are distinct, and that it is your interest to keep them distinct.

“There was a time in our struggle when, if a man had come from America bringing us, in official capacity, the tidings of your brotherly greeting, of your approbation and your sympathy, he would have been regarded like a harbinger of heaven; and had cheered up, by his very presence, the gloom of loneliness, the sad impression of which did more to our fall than the sacrilegious arms of Russia. My nation, tired out by the hard task of dearly but gloriously bought victories, like the laborer after the hard toil of a sultry day, was longing for a little rest to restore his strength, when the numerous hordes of Russia fell in the hour of momentary exhaustion upon us. Indignation at

this shameless violation of the laws of nations supplied the wanted rest, and we rose to meet the intruding foe; but it was natural that the nation looked around with anxiety, if there be no power on earth raising its protesting voice against that impious act of trampling down the law of nations, the common property of all humanity; if there be no power on earth to cheer us by a word of approbation in our bearing up in legitimate defence against a world in arms. Alas! no such word was heard. We stood forsaken and alone! It was upon that ground of forsakenness that treason spread its poison into our ranks. They told my nation, 'Your case is hopeless. Kossuth has assured you that, if you drive out the Austrians from your territory, and declare your independence, your independence perhaps will be recognized by the French republic, probably by England, but certainly by America. And look! none has recognized you, not even the United States, though with them it was, from the time of Washington, always a constant principle to recognize every government.

“ ‘You are not recognized. You are forsaken by the whole world! Kossuth has assured you that it is impossible the constitutional powers of the world should permit, without a word of protest, Russia to interfere with the domestic concerns of Hungary; and look! — Russia has interfered, the laws of nations are broken, the political balance of power is upset.’ Russia assumed the position of a despotic arbiter of the condition of the world; and still nobody raised a single word of protest in favor of Hungary’s just and holy cause. Such was the insinuation which Russian diplomacy, with its wonted subterraneous skill, instilled, drop by drop, into my brave people’s manly heart; and, alas! I could not say that the insinuation was false. The French republic, instead of protesting against the interference of Russia, followed its example, and interfered itself at Rome. Great Britain, instead of protesting, checked Turkey in her resolution to oppose that new aggrandizement of Russia; and the United States of America remained silent, instead of protesting against the violation of those laws of nature and of nature’s God, in the maintenance of which nobody can be more interested than the great republic of America!

“All this having been true, it was the sentiment of standing forsaken and alone by which the skill of our enemies succeeded to spread the despondency of hopelessness through our ranks. It was this despondency, and not the arms of Russia, which caused us to fall. Self-confidence lost is more than half a defeat. Had America sent a diplomatic agent to Hungary, greeting us amongst the independent powers

on earth, recognizing our independence, and declaring Russian interference to be contrary to the laws of nations, that despondency, that loss of self-confidence, had never gained ground in our ranks. Without this, treason would have been impossible; and without treason, all the disposable power of Russia would never have succeeded to overcome our arms,—never! I would have rather brought the well-deserved punishment home to her,—would have shaken her at home. Poland—heroic, unfortunate Poland!—would now be free; Turkey delivered from the nightmare now pressing her chest; and I, according to all probability, would have seen Moscow in triumph, instead of seeing Salem in exile!

“Well, there is a just God in heaven, and there will be yet justice on earth. The day of retribution will yet come!

“Such being the sad tale of my father-land,—which, by a timely token of your brotherly sympathy, might have been saved, and which now has lost everything, except its honor, its trust in God, its hope of resurrection, its confidence in my patriotic exertions, and its steady resolution to strike once more the inexorable blow of retribution at tyrants and tyranny,—if the cause I plead were a particular cause, I would place it upon the ground of well-deserved sympathy, and would try to kindle into a flame of excitement the generous affections of your hearts; and I would succeed.

“However, a great crisis in human affairs, universally felt to be approaching, having placed my humble self in the position of being entitled to claim for my cause a universality not restricted by the geographical limits of a country, or even of Europe itself, or by the moral limits of nationalities, but possessing an interest common to all the Christian world, it is calm, considerate conviction, and not the passing excitement of generous sentiments, which I seek. I hope, therefore, to meet the approbation of this intelligent assembly, when, instead of pleasing you by an attempt at eloquence,—for which, in my sick condition, I indeed have not sufficient freshness of mind,—I rather will enter into some dry but not unimportant considerations, which the citizens of Salem, claiming the glory of high commercial reputation, will kindly appreciate.

“Gentlemen, I often heard the remark that, if the United States do not care for the policy of the world, they will continue to grow internally, and will soon become the mightiest realm on earth,—a republic of a hundred millions of energetic freemen, strong enough to defy all the rest of the world, and to control the destinies of mankind.

And surely this is your glorious lot; but only under the condition that, before you have, in peace and in tranquillity, grown so strong, no hostile combination arrests by craft and violence your giant's course; and this, again, is only under the condition possible, that Europe become free, and the league of despots become not sufficiently powerful to check the peaceful development of your strength. But Russia, too, this embodiment of the principle of despotism, is working hard for the development of her power. Whilst you grow internally, her able diplomacy has spread its nets all over the continent of Europe; there is scarcely any prince more there who feels not honored to be an underling of the great Czar; the despots are all leagued against the freedom of the nations; and, should the principle of absolutism succeed to consolidate their power, and lastingly to keep down the nations, then they must, even by the instinct of self-preservation, try to check the further development of your republic. In vain they would have spilt the blood of millions, in vain they would have doomed themselves to eternal damnation, if they would allow that the United States should become the ruling power on earth. They crushed poor Hungary, because her example was considered dangerous. How could they permit you to become so mighty as to be not only dangerous by your example, but by your power a certain ruin to despotism? They will, they must, do everything to check your glorious progress. Be sure, as soon as they have crushed the spirit of freedom in Europe, as soon as they command all the forces of the continent, they will marshal them against you. Of course, they will not lead their fleets and armies at once across the ocean; they will first ruin your prosperity by ruining your commerce. They will exclude America from the markets of Europe, not only because they fear the republican propagandism of your commerce, but also because Russia requires those markets for her own products.

“I remember in my own country, one thousand years ago, our ancestors came from Asia, a conquering people, seeking a new home. For one hundred and fifty years there was a policy of war. It was a necessity to them, that they might show their power and strength, to maintain that policy; and they became the terror of Europe, so far even as France.

“Now, our people know that war can never, for all future time, be regarded as a principle, but only as a policy. Principles are eternal; but whoever takes policy for a principle puts himself in a position of doing wilful wrong.

“This reminds me of a circumstance that is interesting, as an evidence of the shrewdness of Russian diplomacy in securing new means for a market for their produce.

“The Ottoman empire, after Constantinople had been conquered, adopted the old policy of the Greek empire, in many respects. Its chief feature, in this policy, was a great care that the capital should always be provided with cheap bread. For this purpose, the exportation of corn was most strictly forbidden. This was a false doctrine. Cheap bread is not the result of prohibitory laws; but such was the law of Turkey during four centuries.

“In 1848, Russian diplomacy, which is always accustomed to take the chestnuts out of the fire with foreign hands, suggested a treaty contradicting the prohibitory system. A high tax on corn was sure to give Russia the exclusive sale, not only in Turkey, but also in Constantinople. The treaty was accomplished, and the Turkish government pledged itself not to forbid the exportation of corn, but to replace the prohibitory act by a duty of twelve per cent., which, by various considerations, was augmented to forty per cent. There being no railroads in that country, an immense sum must be paid for transportation. The high duty on exportation was not only laid on for foreign countries, but also for transportation between its own ports. This arrangement was not extended to Constantinople, but was replaced by the Octroi duty, which is much the same as a duty for entering goods into Salem from Lynn.

“Under this treaty, Constantinople receives from Russia corn to the value of five millions of piastres, and other stuffs three millions, in a single year. Still, Russia protests, before the world, against the treaty, pretending that it prevents Russian produce from competing fairly with the produce of other nations. The consequence of it is, Turkish corn is not only driven out of Europe, but even out of its own metropolis.

“I have heard some say that you cannot be excluded from the markets of Europe, the benefits of your commerce being reciprocal. But, if you examine closer the commercial system of all the nations over which the Czar of Russia extends his direct or protective sway, you will soon perceive that the foundations of such an exclusive system are already laid down, and that it will be extended, with the consistency of despotism, further and further. Your republican wheat is excluded from all the markets of continental Europe; and, if a famine opens for a short time the seaports closed against you, the wheat of the Volga

supersedes the wheat of the Mississippi; and for every thousand bushels exported by New York, Odessa exports a hundred thousand. In England only you retained a victorious competition against Russia. Your export of corn fruits there rose, under favorable circumstances, after the repeal of the corn-laws, to eighteen millions of bushels. Russia must try to wrest that immense market from you. You see already established there a protectionist ministry, opposed by party spirit, also, to the development of liberal institutions. You will see every anti-liberal step supported, in England, by all the secret skill of Russia, under the condition that your commerce shall again be checked by the reintroduction of the corn-laws, and their effect limited by a special treaty in favor of Russia. And, should the public opinion of the people of Great Britain make an illiberal government impossible, you will see England entangled into embarrassing difficulties. You will see her attacked; you will see the export of her manufactures excluded from the continent of Europe, and thus not only her prosperity upset, but also your commerce checked.

“Duties of a hundred and more per cent. weigh heavily upon the republican tobacco, the tobacco trade being everywhere a monopoly of the governments; consequently the use of tobacco, by high price, very limited, in comparison to what it would be if the nations of Europe were free.

“The hemp of Russia excludes the hemp of Kentucky; and, though the official returns of your commerce show how small is your export of cotton to the continent of Europe, and, in comparison to the population, smaller in the same ratio in which the governments are more despotic, yet you will find the continental papers claiming protection for the linen industry of Europe. The starvation of the linen-weavers fills, year by year, and week by week, the columns of certain European papers. Let liberty in Europe be lastingly destroyed, and the flax of Riga will supersede the cotton of America, by a slight alteration of the tariff; and, so far as cotton, to a certain extent, would still be required, you will see American cotton excluded in favor of the Levant cotton.

“Perhaps there may be found some who believe that, if the manufacturing industry of England should be checked, it would be, perhaps, good for this country. In my opinion, such a consideration is a fallacy. And why? There are, for your home industry, only two things,—free trade or protection. In either case, it is of the highest importance

to you that Old England should have markets in other parts of the world.

“If the protective policy prevails, it is quite clear that England should have free markets in other parts of the world, that it may not be forced to resort to smuggle its products into your country. In such a country, with an immense sea-coast, it cannot be sufficiently guarded against a trade of this description. There is, therefore, a necessity that England should have free markets.

“On the other hand, if the principle of free trade prevails, one circumstance is clear,—there may be some branches of foreign industry more favorable for your purposes than your own. In those branches foreign competition will be before you, so you can't stand; but you will have markets in other parts of the world, by which you may defy competition.

“In Lowell, yesterday, at the carpet-mills, I was highly interested. In asking information of profit and prices, I found that the hand-loom is working with a loss. And there is just this difference in the power-loom,—it goes on successfully with small profits. Its products can find a ready sale in Hungary; in Turkey every peasant will want a carpet, and you will find for them immense markets in other parts of the world. But, if the Russian policy prevails, you will never find the markets.

“It is for your interests, then, that Old England should have sufficient markets for her produce. The more markets she can compete in, the more cotton she will want, and that is a very important ingredient in your commerce; and when England can find markets, her commerce will never resort to smuggling.

“You have scarcely any other customer in Europe than England; and, as I already remarked, the despots countenance, even there, a government which intends to tax your wheat; and they will rejoice to ruin English cotton industry and American cotton production at once. And they can do it, if they are allowed to carry their ambitious schemes of overcoming the resistance of the reluctant nations. It is a part of the scheme to muzzle the English lion,—you see already how they are preparing for this blow,—and Russia will become the master of Constantinople, and by Constantinople the master of the Mediterranean, and by the Mediterranean the master of three-quarters of the globe. Egypt, Macedonia, Asia Minor,—the country and early home of the cotton-plant,—are then the immediate provinces of Russia,—

the realm with twenty million serfs,— subject to its policy, and depending from its arbitrary will.

“Here is a circumstance highly interesting to the United States. Constantinople is the key to Russia. To be a power on earth, she knows it is necessary for her to be a maritime power. The Black Sea is only a lake, like Lake Lemán, and the Baltic is frozen five months in a year. These are all the seas she possesses. Constantinople is the key to the palace of the Czars. Russia is already omnipotent on the continent. Once master of the Mediterranean, it is not difficult to see that the power which already controls three-quarters of the world will soon have the fourth quarter.

“Whilst the victory of the nations of Europe would open the markets till now yet closed to your products, the consolidation of despotism destroys your commerce unavoidably,— your wheat, your tobacco, your cotton. Excluded from Europe but for one year, and there is no farm, no plantation, no banking-house, which would not feel the terrible shock of such a convulsion.

“And, hand-in-hand with the commercial restrictions, goes, then, the establishment of monarchies from Cape Horn to the Rio Grandé del Norté; Cuba becomes a battery against the mouth of the Mississippi; the Sandwich Islands a barrier to your commerce on the Pacific. Russian diplomacy will foster your domestic dissensions, and rouse the South against the North, and the North against the South; the sea-coast against the inland states, and the inland states against the sea-coast; the Pacific interests against the Atlantic interests; and, when the discord paralyzes your forces, then comes, at last, the foreign interference, preceded by the declaration that the European powers have with your silent consent inscribed into the code of international law the principle that every foreign power has the right to interfere in the domestic affairs of any nation when these become a dangerous example; and your example and your republican principles being dangers to the absolutistical powers, your domestic dissensions are dangerous to the order and tranquillity of Europe, and therefore they consider it their duty to interfere in America. And Europe being oppressed, you will have, single-handed, to encounter the combined forces of the world! I say not more about this subject. America will remember, then, the poor exile, if it did not in time give credit to that course of policy which the intelligence of Massachusetts, together with the young instinct of Ohio, are the foremost to understand and to advance.

“If despotic power prevails, republicanism must fail. Between

heaven and hell there is no compromise. No transactions are possible between absolutism and republicanism. You will remember, in the early part of the present century, the embargo, and the consequent destruction of American commerce.

“But a man of your own state, a President of the United States,—John Quincy Adams,—with enlarged sagacity, which never mistook as to measures, accepted a different policy, when he consented to and accepted the Panama mission, to consider the consequence of the Holy Alliance upon the interests of the South American republics.

“Now, I beg you to reflect, gentlemen, in what condition South America is different from Europe as respects your own country. You must look at the thousand ties that bind you to Europe. In Washington, a senator from California, a generous friend of mine, told me he was thirty days, by steamer, to the seat of government. Well, you speak of distance, — just give me a good steamer, and good sailors, and you will see raised, in twenty days, the flag of freedom in Hungary. [Applause.]

“I remember, that when one of your glorious stars (Florida, I think it was) was about to be introduced, the question of discussion and objection became that the distance* was great. It was argued that the limits of the government would be extended so far that its duties could not be properly attended too. The president answered that the distance was not too great, if the seat of government could be reached in thirty days. So far you have extended your territory; and I am almost inclined to ask my poor Hungary to be accepted as a star in your glorious galaxy. [Prolonged cheering.] She might become a star in this immortal constellation, because she is not so far as thirty days off from you. [Applause.]

“What little English I know, I learned from your Shakspeare; and I learned from him that ‘there are more things in heaven and earth than are dreamed of in our philosophy.’ Who knows what the future may bring forth? I trust in God that all nations will become free, and that they will be united for the eternal interests of humanity; and in that galaxy of freedom I know what place the United States will have.

“One word more. When John Quincy Adams raised the United States to be a power on earth, he was objected to, because it was thought possible that that step might give offence to the Holy Alliance. His answer was in these memorable words: ‘The United States must take counsel of their rights and duties, and not from their fears.’

“The Anglo-Saxon race represents constitutional governments. United for those, we will have what we want — fair play; and, relying ‘upon our God, the justness of our cause, iron wills, honest hearts, and good swords,’ my people will strike once more for freedom, independence, and for father-land!”

At the conclusion of Kossuth’s speech, Mr. Phillips introduced to the meeting the Hon. Anson Burlingame, who made the following remarks, which were heartily cheered:

MR. BURLINGAME’S SPEECH.

“In reply to your call, I will only detain you to express the gratification I feel, as a member of the committee charged with the delightful duty of conducting our distinguished guest to the state, at the reception with which he has everywhere been greeted. Our first invitation found him beyond the Alleghanies with the free sons of the West,— he had then visited the chief cities along the Atlantic slope. Since then, he has made the wide circuit of the republic, everywhere pouring out his life into the great bosom of the people, filling it with the loftiest sentiments. [Applause.] He kindled the bold spirit of our western land into a flame of enthusiasm. [Applause.] He laid his hand tenderly upon the fiery heart of the South, and soothed it into sympathy. This he did before he turned his feet toward New England; and many of his friends, in this home of his friends, feared— because of the long interval between his arrival in the country and his visit here — that the original interest awakened by the story of his heroic life might have somewhat declined; but the shouts of the people with which he is greeted.— rising, as they do here to-night, like the voice of many waters — tell us that the interest in himself and country has rather deepened than diminished. [Loud applause.]

“He does not feel the breeze from the distant prairies, or enjoy the fragrance of the magnolia’s blossoms; but here, on these cold hills, and by this stormy sea, he has found hearts as God made them; open to the reception of truth, and responsive to the voice of humanity. [Applause.] And why is it that this people — taught from the cradle to the grave to conserve its own dignity — gives itself with child-like confidence to the voice of this one man, and he a stranger? Is it blind adoration of that form, not yet quite wasted by the dungeon or broken by the toils of a struggling life,— for that which may be cold in an

hour?—No! no! It is because eternal truth dwells on those lips; it is because those eyes beam with the effulgence of principles which shall flourish in immortal vigor when all men are in the dust. [Applause.] But, gentlemen, I shall not give wing to speech, or do anything to break the delicious spell which now entralls you. I leave you to the charms of the serene eloquence you have heard, feeling that its mournful melody will linger in your memories like the recollections of some grand old song, long after the voice which made it shall have died away.” [Applause.]

Mr. Phillips next introduced M. Pulszky, who made a brief but very happy speech. He remarked, that he was nothing more than an humble star in the milky way, whose light faded and disappeared before the effulgent beams of the glorious sun. He said, significantly, in conclusion, that the audience had called him out, and he had obeyed their call. What they had now heard from him was of little importance; but he was going across the water, and he was in hopes they would, not long hence, hear something *about* him.

The meeting then adjourned, and Kossuth and attendants left Salem for Boston, in a special train, as soon as they could reach the depot from the hall.

KOSSUTH'S VISIT TO THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

KOSSUTH, accompanied by M. Pulszky, Mayor Seaver, Speaker Banks, Amasa Walker, Secretary of State, and others, visited several of the Public Schools of Boston, on Saturday, May 8. The first one visited was the Hancock School for girls. The girls, to the number of nearly seven hundred, were all assembled in the large hall of the building, nearly filling the entire room. Upon the black-board, on the right of the entrance, was inscribed the words, “Welcome, Kossuth, to the Free Schools of a Free Land. Liberty has triumphed on Bunker’s Hill,—it will triumph around Buda’s Hill!” On the board on the left were the words: “Hancock School. Instituted 1822. Removed to this house, 1848.” These inscriptions were executed in a beautiful style by Misses Ellis and Andrews.

The guests reached the school-house about half-past ten o’clock, and were received by the children standing. When the company were

seated, the children resumed their seats, and, in an admirable manner, sang one of their beautiful songs,—“Hail, Bright Land of Liberty.”

Mr. Norcross, chairman of the Hancock School Committee, then introduced George Allen, Esq., the Principal of the school, to Kossuth. Mr. Allen welcomed Kossuth in the following manner :

“GOVERNOR KOSSUTH: In behalf of the *Hancock School*, and by authority of the illustrious name it bears, I have the honor to welcome you here as the champion of human rights, the vindicator of national independence, and therefore, of necessity, as well as choice, the *friend of universal education*.

“The seven hundred pupils who daily congregate here, to be educated in the elements of useful knowledge, are the hopeful daughters of wise-hearted mothers, who themselves teach their children to love and honor the assertors and defenders, in all countries, of the inalienable rights of mankind.

“It was the far-seeing spirit of liberty, strong and resolute in the bosoms of our fathers, which in our infant colony established free universal education, to secure and perpetuate those *rights* for the love of which they settled on these storm-beaten rocks, and by the power of which they struck from them so many streams of happy life.

“This free school, now honored by your presence, is but one of the many which give strength and beauty and renown to our city. It is but one of the thousands which are the glory and safeguard of the state; and, therefore, on this occasion, I claim the right and assume the honor of greeting your Excellency, and of bidding you a heart-full welcome to the Hancock School, *as a type and representation of free universal education throughout this commonwealth*. Nor do I assume too much in using this opportunity to assure your Excellency that, were the pupils of all the schools of Massachusetts congregated in one vast throng, their acclamation would break forth, as one voice, in behalf of the great mission for mankind which has brought you to this land, and which occupies so broadly the sympathies of this nation. I only utter their united, hearty wish, when I add, *God speed your noble and generous enterprise to its glorious, beneficent consummation*.

“And now, sir, in introducing you to this school, permit me to assure you that the words you see before you, ‘Welcome, Kossuth, to the Free Schools of a Free Land,’ are a *cordial* greeting; and that we

all unite in the wish, that your prediction, that 'Liberty will triumph around Buda's Hill,' may speedily be accomplished; and then the world will no longer say, 'American Liberty,' a *privilege*,—but 'Liberty,' a *principle*."

Kossuth replied to this address in a few remarks, which were spoken in so low a tone as to indicate extreme illness. He looked quite feeble, and was evidently hardly able to stand. His reply was in substance this :

"I thank you, sir, for the kind sentiments you have expressed, and the pleasure you have afforded me in the opportunity to visit this, one of the great work-shops of the mind of Massachusetts. Education and intelligence must always be the chief support of freedom; and the education of ladies is greatly important, who have, in so large a degree, to form the infant and youthful mind of a nation. I regret that illness deprives me of the power to raise my voice so that my thanks can be heard by all the beautiful and interesting children who are here, and in whose name you have welcomed me."

Mr. Allen then introduced to Kossuth Miss Sarah F. Whitmore, as the head pupil of the school. Miss Whitmore approached Kossuth, holding in her hand a beautiful nosegay, and addressed him as follows :

"SIR: We present to you this in token of regard to your mother, whose name will ever be fragrant in our memories, as the mother of a noble son. May she live to witness the great achievement which is the desire of your heart,—the rescue of your country from foreign oppression, and the restoration to it of more than its ancient liberties!"

Kossuth received the nosegay, and replied, with much emotion, in substance as follows :

"I thank you for your kindness. My poor mother would desire the fulfilment of your kind wishes; but, alas! I fear she will not be spared. Such has been the pressure of adversity upon her in latter years, that I fear almost hourly to hear tidings of her departure. But she will look down from above upon us and upon you. I thank you, thank you very kindly!"

The scholars then sung "Hail Columbia," and Kossuth was next

conducted to Mr Allen's room, to which his class had previously repaired. Inscribed upon the black-board in this room was the following extract from one of Kossuth's speeches, executed by Misses Tewksbury and Chipman :—" Let the House of Austria trust to its bayonets and its Czar. The people of Hungary and myself,— we trust in God ! "

After spending a few moments in this extremely well-arranged room, Kossuth and those accompanying him repaired to their carriages, and proceeded to the Primary School in East Orange-street. Here Kossuth was introduced to Miss Russell, the teacher, and several other ladies. Mr. Cook, President of the Primary Board, cordially welcomed Kossuth to the school. Upon the guests leaving, the children sung " Remember," and " Happy Land." The visit gave much pleasure to Kossuth and his companions.

The party then proceeded to the English High School, where Mr. Sherwin, the master, introduced Kossuth to the pupils as one with whose history they were well-acquainted. The scholars were then examined in various studies.

In the Latin School Dr. E. Beecher welcomed Kossuth in a speech of some length, in which he alluded to the public schools of Massachusetts as worthy of the attention of Kossuth, engaged, as he was, in the mission of introducing free institutions into the Old World.

In reply, Kossuth said that he experienced great pleasure in what he had seen and heard concerning institutions of public instruction in the United States, and especially in Massachusetts. The higher institutions, as those for instruction in the Latin language, were important, for the reason that the highest philosophy of life and the mysteries of the human heart were sealed up in that literature.

He could not look upon these institutions without feeling that it was but a place for instruction, rather than for education. Although greatly pleased with what he had seen, he was far from thinking the American system perfect. There was not freedom in instruction in the higher universities.

The organization of the corps of professors was less perfect than that of the universities of Europe. The young gentlemen, he entreated, must not think instruction an employment for a period of life; it was the work of life itself. Who could say how far the human intellect could reach, what limit to the progress of our race, devoted to instruction and not believing in education? It was the very venom of the flower to regard a system, or an attainment, as perfect. No advance

can be made when such is the philosophy. He should gladly avail himself of the good wishes expressed for him and his country, when opportunity offered, of his experience in the United States, and especially in Massachusetts. It would give him great pleasure to listen to an exhibition of the attainment of the scholars.

At the conclusion of his remarks, an extract from the speech of Webster on the trial of Knapp was spoken by one of the pupils, which, with some other exercises, closed the proceedings. Kossuth, who was evidently suffering greatly, returned to the Revere House.

GERMAN KOSSUTH MEETING IN BOSTON.

On Saturday, May 8th, the Germans of Boston enjoyed the pleasure of listening to an address, in the familiar language of the father-land, from the representative of Hungary. How highly they esteemed this, their numerous attendance testifies. From seven to eight hundred persons were assembled at the Melodeon. After the organization of the meeting, and the choice of Mr. Wagner as president, Messrs. B. Domschke and P. Piper as vice-presidents, and Messrs. E. Schläger and L. Meyer as secretaries, Kossuth, at eight o'clock, was introduced by the German committee. After the cheering had subsided, the Germania Serenade Band, accompanying the "Liederkranz," greeted him with the inspiring strains of the "Männerschwur." Mr. Domschke, of the committee, then delivered the following address ;

"GERMAN FELLOW-CITIZENS : Governor Kossuth is about to address you. This occasion is one of great importance to us. Apart from the pleasure which this announcement affords us all, it is also a fact of peculiar significance. Fellow-citizens, a man will address you who is the representative of a brave and freedom-loving people. Our hearts, too, beat for the freedom of the father-land, and in them will his heroic words find thousand-fold echoes, who unites in himself the sorrows and the hopes of his nation. It will recall to our recollection the glorious deeds of a race who have avenged the base ingratitude of tyrants. When formerly Maria Theresa, Empress of Austria, implored the Hungarians, with tears, to aid her against the enemies of her crown, they cried, 'Let us die for our queen!' A hundred

years afterwards the imperial house, whose existence, the Hungarians had preserved, stains the soil with Hungarian blood! It is for Governor Kossuth that the people of Hungary are waiting to avenge this blood-shed. In consideration furthermore of the bold perseverance with which Governor Kossuth prepared and maintained a righteous warfare against the hirelings of Jesuitical power, of the firmness with which he adhered to republican principles, and of the sacrifices he made for the regeneration of his oppressed people, this will be to us a memorable occasion. Let us give to Governor Kossuth our sympathy and our aid, that he, in union with other nations, may overthrow the worn-out dynasties of Europe, and upon the ruins of these old powers erect new states, wherein no longer murder shall be called justice, and lies be told by the grace of God.

“Mr. Governor, I invite you to address our German citizens, who honor you as the herald of the coming day.”

SPEECH OF KOSSUTH TO THE GERMANS.

“HONORED ASSEMBLY: I have this evening felt hearty satisfaction. I have considered this assembly as a new manifestation that the principle of the solidarity of the European war of freedom glows warmly in the hearts of the Germans in America. It is this sense of solidarity, the principle which I represent,—it is the sense of solidarity which awakens for me that touching, sincere and brotherly sympathy, with which the Germans in America everywhere approach me,—a sympathy which shall remain deeply impressed in the grateful recollections of my life, in so many respects a gloomy one. I trust that, by the mutual exchange of ideas, we may grow strong in the belief of Europe’s future, and in steadfast resolution, so that we may work together, to the best of our abilities, united by a common sympathy.

“But a rheumatic fever has so oppressed my head, that, with all the strength of my will, I am unable to reduce my thoughts to a logical argument. I remember well that remark of Schiller, that the will has power to restrain the body, even against its will; but it is very difficult to force my brain to think now. I pray you, therefore, to excuse me, and, while offering my heart-felt thanks for your kindness, I will confine myself to a few dry statements, and rather offer you food for reflection than proceed to develop my ideas.

“The Germans in America—and the remark applies to the pres-

ent assembly—are divided into two classes. The first class comprises those who regard the hospitable shores of America not as a new home, but merely as a temporary asylum. Associates in a common misfortune, a sacrifice to the same stroke of destiny, they await here, with eager longing, the hour when they shall become fellow-soldiers of the united nations in the struggle against despotism. The second class consists of those who, emigrating from the fatherland, have established themselves in a new home, but have still manifested a true love for the land of their birth, and have sympathized with the misfortunes, the hopes, the wishes and the sorrows, of those left behind. The first class I regard as an active element in the coming war in Europe; the other, as an element of assistance. In this consideration, it seems to me that a field of labor presents itself, common to both classes; and, moreover, a special field for each of them. Permit me to explain what pertains to the agency of both classes, and what to each one in its individual capacity. It pertains to the common efficacy of both to endeavor, by all their intellectual powers,—not by the press alone, nor merely through the German press, but by word and united action,—to oppose those prejudices by which our enemies are enabled to obstruct the national activity, as well as that of individuals, in America. Among those prejudices whereby success may be baffled, or at any rate weakened, it is necessary to reckon the opinion, that the interests of the United States are opposed to an active participation in the shaping of the future. It is for you, Germans of America, to represent and cherish the opposite principles.

“In the gradual development of national being, a state arrives at that point where it is necessary for it to become a power upon earth. The United States have reached that position. It is for you to bring this fact continually before the public, to show that free America is not yet a power upon earth, because she has never yet had weight in the political balance;—not that she has not the requisite strength, but because she has never had the desire.

“It is for you to show what dangers will threaten, should a nation neglect to take the position which circumstances offer. Explain to the American public how propitious is the present moment for assuming this position among the nations of the earth, and upon the safe foundation of national right. Believe me, there is no surer foundation for the position of might than upon the basis of right. It is, indeed, a rare good fortune to have such an opportunity presented, which, if neglected now, will, perhaps, not occur again in a century.

The present state of Europe, the thousand signs of the times, remind us of this. Woe to Europe, I say, woe to mankind, if this opportunity shall pass unheeded! It is for you to bring this fact before the American people, that, if they stand aloof in the impending struggle of the European nations against despotism, they separate themselves from the society of mankind;—whether despotism or freedom be triumphant, their position is isolated. In the former case, they will be isolated; for all intercourse, morally and materially, between republican America and Europe, is dangerous to absolutism. But, on the other hand, if freedom is victorious, the nations of Europe, in their hour of prosperity, must stand aloof from that portion of the world which deserted them in their days of adversity and danger.

“It is very easy to comprehend what are the consequences, in the present case, of a national isolation. The United States have either to wage a war for life and death with the whole world, or, at best, will sink to the level of Japan, China or Paraguay.

“This is a prejudice which cannot be too perseveringly opposed. The next prejudice which works very perniciously against the consummation of brotherly union between these two quarters of the globe is, that the people of Europe are not fit for freedom and self-government. Truly, I am surprised to hear this reproach uttered against the fountain of civilization, of knowledge and worldly wisdom, from which even these United States have derived their strength; it is an insult to cast this reproach of unfitness into the teeth of the one hundred and fifty millions of Europe. It concerns the honor of the Germans of America to show that the forty millions of their countrymen in the heart of Europe are not unfitted to govern themselves; it concerns your own reputation, German citizens of America, to refute this calumny. Well may they feel pride in their own strength; but they must not suppose that with themselves all noble feeling has left the old father-land, or that nothing remains there worthy of a brighter future.

“It concerns your honor to bring back to the recollection of your fellow-citizens that, in fact, all who have emigrated to America are republicans; but that the German citizens of America yield to no one in their conviction of the worth of such institutions, or in the practice of them. And now that they have emigrated hither and become republicans, how despondent we should feel, should the remaining millions, who are left behind, be condemned to remain forever in a state of infancy!

“It concerns the honor of the German people, and particularly of yourselves, to oppose this prejudice, that insults may not be added to our misfortunes.

“No nation was born for slavery, but we were all born for freedom. What an absurdity, then, to say that man is not fitted for that state to which he was born !

“The third prejudice is this : it is said that, as circumstances at present exist, if there is no prospect of an immediate revolution in Europe, it is useless to assist in sustaining preparations for that purpose. It is the old philosophy of the peasant in Horace, who waits for the stream to flow by, and continually exclaims, ‘ We shall have time enough to-morrow,’ and again the next day, &c., &c. But there are many among you who were contemporaries in the times before 1849. In my feeble state of health I cannot relate or dwell upon the history of that time, so pregnant with meaning ; but still the history of 1848–49 is sufficient to teach every sensible man, first, that the movements of that period must have failed, and, secondly, that from that failure another revolution must necessarily follow.

“Keep this parallel ever before the eyes of the American people ; show them the abnormity of the condition of Europe, of the impossibility of its continuance, and the folly of relying upon a future which the death of a single man can immediately shake to its very centre. If false intelligence from Europe flies over hither, a commercial crisis at once ensues.

“I have myself seen it on the occasion of the report of the death of Louis Napoleon. And how, when one hundred and fifty millions of men are resolved to win freedom with their blood,—when, on the one side, there is this apprehension, and, on the other, the slightest breath may turn the scale,—can they say, indeed, the revolution has no chance? I must acknowledge the good will of our great-hearted friends in America, who declare, “when the time comes, we shall not be wanting.” We shall see what mighty aid will come over from America. I believe—yes, I know—that there is no power on earth which can bid the brotherly beating of the pulse of the people of America be still.

“But, as to the men who by circumstances have been placed in the position to take the lead in effecting the revolution of Europe, they must feel the immense responsibility of building a plan upon such naked prospects. One can base no plan upon such hopes, upon such promises ; you must have power in the hand, if you would strike the blow ; it is important to spread abroad the conviction that it is a thousand

times more useful that the men who, by circumstances, have been placed in a position to act as leaders, should be able to remain masters of circumstances, than to promise aid for a time when assistance will be either useless or too late.

“A fourth prejudice is, an unwillingness to go hand in hand with Great Britain in the adoption of foreign policy. It is your mission to teach the nations how the feelings of hatred are descended from former times, and cannot be our counsellors in the exigencies of the present. And it is among the conditions of the obtaining of liberty that England shall not place herself upon the side of despotism. We have, indeed, enemies enough. I trust that the moral influence of the American people may make for us an ally even in the people of England.

“What an immense gain for mankind, what a guarantee for the future, would this determination of America create,—that this seed should mature, that America should take her stand for the law of nations, for the rights of the people! Let America, with her moral influence, be on our side, and the people of Europe would find but few enemies to fight against. Never were there more reasons that the consciousness of the necessities of the present time should not be made subordinate to the hatred of former times. Especially should not the sins of governments be visited upon their people. Who has suffered more from Russia than my own unhappy father-land? Do I, therefore, hate the *people* of Russia? God sees my heart. I love it as a brother-nation, I desire its freedom, and I hope for it this future, even as I do the coming of liberty for every nation. And I speak not from mere philanthropy when I utter this, but it is the consequence of my wishes for my own father-land. Freedom isolated, certainly is not secure. Universal freedom is secure to all eternity!

“Resistance to these prejudices is the common duty of both classes of the Germans in America. Let us consider the particular duties of the first class. It is natural and simple. This class consists of those emigrants who have no intention of making here a permanent home, but who await, with anxious longing, the hour which shall call them back to the old ancestral home. It must be the desire of their hearts to take part in the battle for the freedom of the German father-land. Their duty, therefore, at the present time, is, to be active, to be ready to fulfil their duties when the moment draws near. My poor companions in exile, who live scattered over the wide world, asked me concerning the prospect of their taking part in this struggle. I have answered them that I consider their lot to be a sad destiny, for I

feared that the emigration would lose itself in the ocean of America, so that no power could again gather them together; I feared, if the matter were not well considered before, that but few emigrants would return to Europe and take a part; and that the German emigration could not be looked upon as an element of success, or as an effective element in the contest. It is for them to take such steps as shall enable the men whose duty it is, to raise the standard; and, before they do it, to enable them to know with certainty how much power they may expect as a reliable element for the liberty of Germany!

“Of course, the laws of America prohibit the fitting out of an armed expedition, and it is the duty of the Germans to respect the laws of their hospitable asylum.

“But no law prohibits the exile to prepare himself to fulfil his duty towards his father-land, when time and circumstances shall permit. And, if these brave men whom I call my comrades in battle,—for the battle is common to all,—if they, in this preparation of themselves, will consider that the struggle in Europe is, and must be, a united one, then will they not be deceived. I, as a Hungarian, so look upon my duty, that I shall not fold my arms upon my breast and look to see what may be done anywhere in the world, or wait for a war to be begun in Hungary. No! wherever the first blow shall be struck,—be it in the east or the west, the south or the north,—the blow will be struck for the common cause. It is the duty of exiles not only, gentlemen, to prepare their arms, but to hold themselves in readiness to take a part in the battle, whenever and wherever the contest shall begin.

“As to the special duty of the second class, who depend, with anxious longing, on their hopes for the future of Europe, and who find support for these hopes in their trust in God, and their trust in justice, it is for them to contribute material aid, so that, without loss of time, they may help to prepare the means of readiness for those of the first class.

“This may these men expect who would anew devote their lives in the battle of liberty. They say here, money is everything, and talk about the almighty dollar; but I declare to you that the almighty dollar is not so mighty as is the heart's blood of brave men. Let us beware of that word, ‘Too late!’

“When the time for action has come, and we first must look about to put ourselves in a position to act, time passes away, and with

anxious sorrow we think and say, 'Had we only done earlier what we had determined to do in the matter!'

"If it was or should be a misfortune for the Germans to be divided into parties upon minor questions, let activity unite them, in spite of parties. Well may they depend on parties to get ready the means of help, not to be given to the one or the other party, but to hold them ready for the decisive moment; but let this aid be ready, so that we may not be obliged to look about for it when every moment is pregnant with the issue. And further, it is your especial duty to throw your weight, as citizens, into the scale. O, gentlemen, believe that the fact that the United States contain some millions of Germans has in it the finger of God,—this fact is providential! I do not say that the German citizens of America should act upon different principles from the other citizens; but I believe it to be most fortunate that, when we consider circumstances, we shall find that the truest American patriotism is an active sympathy for the fate of Europe, to occupy *en masse* the lofty stand-point of a true, noble, American policy, and not to suffer the question in which pulsates the great heart of the future of the world to be dragged down upon the base stand-point of petty party differences!

"If you unite yourselves, so to use your position as citizens as the true interests of America require, then will you seek to verify the prophecy of Canning, that the New World is called to restore the equilibrium of the Old. And, if you take this position, then will you also show to your brethren in Europe that *Germany*, the heart of Europe, finds a mighty support in the Germans in America. Proving that in this way, you will exert an influence at home, to effect a unity of combination for the general revolution over all party divisions. You can assist only through what you do and prepare. It is a time for action. By action one gets influence, by action one becomes master of circumstances,—otherwise, not.

"There is need, in Germany, of causing the disappearance of this little contest of theories before one great idea. The revolution is a common one. It is the struggle of the united nations. But, gentlemen, if you believe that, if one treats with me, he treats with the Hungarian nation, and consider that A or B is in the same relation to France or Italy, how important for the future of the world that even Germany can personify the will of her people, when it appoints a man through whom it may take a part in the combination for the revolution! It would be of immense importance to place Germany in the front rank of the battle; but, if the plan be not consummated (and

one can make plans only in secret), that country, unrepresented, cannot be included in the scheme.

“It is your duty to create such a personification in a man,—or, if it must be, in a committee. When it is seen in Europe that the Germans in America are a support of the freedom of Europe, then they will have a word to say as to the ordering of the movement; but, if you delay, then you will have no influence, and the very men in whom the power of the nation is represented, to whom the lead is given in the battle, will have to omit great Germany from their plans. I am too much exhausted to develop to you further this point. My friend Pulszky will present to you his views upon this question.

“We are so intimately connected, that I will undertake to guarantee his views. When you hear him, you hear also *my* views. Yet a few words. It is a sad fate, that I should have scattered this seed in the heart of America, and must now leave it, when, if tended, it might grow up to a mighty tree. I am near the time when I shall leave America. Duty calls me back. Who will watch the tender plant, when I am no longer here? Who will shelter it from the frosts of indifference? Germans of America! take it under your protection. Let me beseech you, be the guardians of this tender plant! If you nurse it with German truth, with American energy then will it grow and bear fruit; and the world will bless the hour which Providence points out, which brought over here millions of Germans, who shall become the awakening strength and the link between the Old World and the New, to the common triumph of freedom and the universal welfare of mankind!

“I pray for a little place in your good hearts for the remembrance of the poor, homeless Hungarian.”

Kossuth spoke three-quarters of an hour, and introduced M. Pulszky, who made a very forcible address. The band and vocalists then gave the great national song, “The German’s Father-land,” in an excellent manner; after which, the meeting adjourned, with the same proofs of warm enthusiasm which had marked it throughout the evening.

“To hear Kossuth speak in German,” says the Commonwealth’s report of the meeting, “was an enjoyment which we could desire for every one who has heard him in English. There was a melody in his voice, an ease in his speaking, and a connection in his thoughts, not easily imagined, from hearing him in a language which he cannot speak without an effort.”

KOSSUTH IN ROXBURY.

A PUBLIC meeting of the citizens of Roxbury invited Kossuth to visit that city, and appointed a committee to make appropriate arrangements for his reception. Accordingly, at six o'clock, P. M., on Monday, May 10, a deputation of the committee — Charles M. Ellis, Esq., chairman — waited upon the Hungarian at the Revere House, and conducted their distinguished guest and suite, accompanied by General Wilson of the State Committee, and other gentlemen, to carriages without, and proceeded to the line of Roxbury, where Kossuth was received by the Roxbury Artillery, Captain Webber, a company of firemen, and an immense gathering of the people.

After saluting Kossuth, the military wheeled into line, and the procession passed through the principal streets of the city, which were lined with men, women and children, to the beautiful Highlands of Roxbury, stopping at the elegant residence of Mr. Ellis, where Kossuth was introduced to a select company of ladies and gentlemen, among whom were the Hon. Samuel H. Walley, Rev. Dr. Putnam, and Rev. Theodore Parker. After partaking of a sumptuous repast, Kossuth and suite were conveyed in carriages to Norfolk Hall, which was densely crowded with an anxiously waiting audience. Upon entering the hall, Kossuth was greeted with three times three cheers by the audience, standing. Upon reaching the platform, he gracefully bowed his thanks, and sat down, apparently much fatigued.

Over the platform were blended the Hungarian and American flags, draped. In the back-ground was suspended a banner, bearing the words, "WELCOME KOSSUTH!"

The services commenced with an announcement by Dr. Streeter, from the committee of arrangements, of the following named gentlemen as officers of the evening :

President — CHARLES M. ELLIS.

Vice-presidents — Linus B. Comins, J. Wingate Thornton, Timothy R. Nute, Charles Ellis, Rev. W. H. Ryder, Rev. J. S. Shailer, Walter Farnsworth, B. F. Campbell.

Secretary — Franklin Williams.

Mr. Ellis then arose and welcomed Kossuth in the following speech :

MR. ELLIS' SPEECH.

“LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: We meet to greet the one to whom your hearts have long yearned to give a personal welcome. And now, when at last he is with you, natural impatience might well pardon the omission of the words, befitting the hour, expressive of your emotions; for he comes amongst you as well and long beloved friends, whose meeting cannot be deferred. There is no one living who fills a larger place in this nation's heart. There is no one who can look with purer joy or higher hopes to its spirit, its life, its destiny.

“The sight of one moulding the institutions of an old and mighty nation, to secure those blessings of civil government whose establishment here made an era in the history of the world,— of the devotion of a martyr-spirit, in youth and manhood, in prison, in the halls of council, on the battle-field, rousing his native state, or rallying the hosts of the nations of the world, which (for there has good fortune cast his happy lot) he may now call his father-land, could not but move with tumultuous emotion every American heart. But it rouses feelings that could not be reached by the most generous sympathy.

“Welcomed to this land and people, turning westward, he sees the flames of liberty blazing across the breadth of the continent. Turning back hither, he finds no waste spot lying in ashes, but a fair land, whose people keep forever burning on their altars those sacred fires.

“Every spot here is sacred to liberty. This is her classic land. We see the unity of our entire history. We feel the unity of that of humanity. And the forts on our hills, the church-spire here, the church by the brook, the very rocks, speak out to us, Be faithful — be steadfast.

“The spirits of the sainted heroes, the brave souls consecrated to liberty, immortals lingering around mortal homes, call to us (we rejoice, sir, that the voice of the one you did us the honor to name is music to your ear), — they call to us, Be noble — be brave!

“Spirits of the departed of an earlier day! repeat to us the great words of one who, once himself a brave soldier in a foreign war, here beneath this hill found a home in exile, ‘Remember the end of your coming hither, and trust in the power of God.’

“We see great movement in the civil world.

“On this continent is plenty, peace, justice; want, war, wrong, within the other. But their fortunes are not sundered. Over that we see gathering the black, terrific clouds, the quick flashes of the

tempest, and hear peal on peal of the deep-rolling and rattling thunder. On ours we feel but the sweet influence of the gentle, blessed shower, or the clear sunshine, as it passes away. But, high in heaven, the whole civilized world catches fainter or brighter glimpses of a bow that shall gloriously over-arch it all. Those clouds are big with mercy, and shall burst in blessings on the world.

“To the great future all look with like hopes. One law, one God, is over all men and all nations. Wherever men toil for principle, they have a common bond and a common lot. Looking onward, then, with such hopes and with faith, his struggles for liberty assume a grander aspect.

“They show not only courage, patriotism, love of civil and religious liberty, all that social organization can do for man, but devotion to the grander principles on which rest the civil, the social, the human world, — the great primal laws that join all men and all nations of the earth in one common brotherhood.

“Thus in him are your hopes centred with your affections.

“Thus, sir, let us bid you welcome! To you we can bring no new honors. We can but join in the general burst of welcome. But we catch something of the spirit in which, when the shades of your country’s martyrs flitted before your sight, you consecrated your powers to the sacred cause which is common to the world. With such visions before us, we can only rejoice at the inspiration of a kindred spirit, and pray for the success of the great work before the nations of the world.

“Gathering round you whilst you gird on new armor as our champion, we remember that we only welcome you as you turn again to lead the holy war.

“And we raise the cry of victory, with which a just God will crown the right. If you see it not here, remember ‘the ends thou aim’st at are thy country’s, thy God’s, and truth’s; and, if thou fallest, thou fallest a blessed martyr.’ ”

The following was Kossuth’s reply :

KOSSUTH’S SPEECH IN ROXBURY.

“LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: From me you will not hear any such eloquent words as you have just heard; but, if a noble and generous heart speaks thus, it must be because there is inspiration in the cause which inspires such eloquence. Although the consciousness of duty, and the inspiration of my life’s noble aim, were yet always sufficient to

support my strength in bearing up against difficulties,—still, I liked, even in happier days, to nerve my untiring perseverance by the magnetism of history. The memory of good men is a common inheritance to all mankind. Every man should feel bound to conserve it by endeavoring to be alike good. History, so considered, will be an overflowing well of inspiration. It is a battery of spiritual electricity, conveying the heavenly spark, glistening in the records of former deeds, to living hearts. By following its impulses, they may transmit it to coming generations, and strengthen its effect by multiplying its results. If we could look into the mysteries of the nativity of thoughts and sentiments, we should see that, in the most cases, it is the magnetic influence either of a historical fact, or of a living example, which unconsciously decides the life-course of eminent men. There is an intimate affinity between the hidden inclinations of our souls, which decide the direction of all our life, and corresponding historical facts. And, should ever the direction of our life have been decided otherwise, the sparks of the magnetism of history never fail to come to our support; and, according to the laws of spiritual affinity, the memory of such men never can fail to exert a beneficial influence over our minds, who have been most conspicuous by those qualities which the circumstances of our own position require us to acquire and to exercise.

“Conscious of the nobility of my life’s aim,—conscious of its vitality and of its certain success, provided that it be pursued with unfaltering perseverance,—to me no quality is of a higher necessity than self-sacrificing devotion; for nothing I pray so fervently to God as that, however bitter may be the cup I have yet to drink, my heart may always retain an entire self-sacrificing devotion to my country’s cause. It is therefore that the affections of my heart like to linger on places connected with touching recollections of devotedness. Such recollections are a fountain of strength to me; and such a place is Roxbury. In the history of your city I find two names bright with the lustre of immortality for self-sacrificing devotion. Eliot and Warren are the two names.

“When I think of Eliot,—how he went in the wilderness among the barbarous Indians alone, exposed to the most terrifying dangers, opposed by violence, having nothing to protect him but the power of his mind, firm like the mountain oaks; when I think of his plain words, displaying the sublimest devotion in their very simplicity, when he wrote that he had not been dry day or night, but pulled off his boots and wrung his stockings, and on with them again, and went on

his self-chosen apostolate ; when I think that Eliot was able to sacrifice himself with such a devotion to Indians, bound with no other ties to his heart than that they were men,— then the thought of my country comes like a flame over my heart, and the boundless love I feel for her makes me almost ashamed that there is no power, no higher sentiment, given to the heart of mortal man to be inspired with for our father-land, than untiring devotion,— a sentiment which an Eliot, even for the Indians, was able to feel.

“ But, if it be the doom of mortality that that be all we can do, even for our own people,— for our own native land,— then be sure, O my country ! that tribute of duty I will at least pay to thee faithfully. Thou mayest have children more successful in serving thee (and God grant thou mayest have many of them !), but this heart of mine, and the iron perseverance of this heart, will never yield in devotion to any man who ever loved his father-land.

“ The devotion of Eliot was that of a Christian philanthropist ; of Warren, that of a patriot. I drank the inspiration of his self-sacrificing devotion there where he died. I drink it here again on the spot where he was born.

“ Citizens of Roxbury, I thank you for having invited me to this place, the historical recollections of which are pouring forth the inspiration of devoted perseverance. I dare say I had it all my life ; but of that we can never have too much.

“ But as to my task, gentlemen, I dare also say that the double devotion, as we see it personified in different directions, by Eliot and Warren,— the devotion of Christian philanthropism and that of patriotism,— meet together in one common merit of the cause I plead. All-ruling Providence, in its inscrutable wisdom, has imparted such an importance to my country’s cause, that, in devoting my life to her freedom, I dare to say I am performing not only the duty of patriotism, but in the same time the duty of Christian philanthropism.

“ The struggle which, engaged in Hungary, develops its consequences in such an alarming manner, is, in its unavoidable continuance, not of a particular interest, restricted to one country, to one nationality, or limited by geographical boundaries ; it is a struggle the ultimate issue of which will be felt through all the world.

“ Look to Europe, and one highly remarkable fact cannot fail to arrest your attention ; and that is, that, while yet four years ago you have seen the nations of Europe divided by national rivalries, many of them animated by aspirations to conquer and rule others, now the

blind fury of national antagonism has suddenly subsided as by an enchantment, and a common feeling of solidarity is now manifesting itself, like an all-pervading fundamental tone in harmony,—as the Germans say, a ‘*grund tone*,’—across all the aberrations of the passing moment, and across all dissonances of fluctuating vicissitudes. When has ever in history occurred such a prodigious fact? The fabulous halcyon calming the roaring waves is scarcely an approximate image for this sudden change.

“What is the mysterious power which worked this sudden change? Is it, perhaps, some great man impressing the mark of his powerful individuality upon the contemporary age? No. The age we live in is not rich in great men; no individual greatness is over-towering humanity,—all disappear, all are overshadowed by the spirit of the age;—men are small, but the time is great. What, then, has operated that sudden wonderful change, by which the antagonism of nationalities is replaced by fraternity of nationalities? The instinctive apprehension of a danger, common to all nations, common to all nationalities,—that is the key to the mystery. Europe is aware that principles are brought to a decisive strife, the issue of which must be felt by all the nations of Europe; is aware that the prophetic word, long ago foretold by Mr. Webster, is about to be literally realized,—the word, that the principles of the despotic league (styled Holy Alliance) extended *divide society horizontally, leaving the sovereigns above and all the people below,—the one set up above all rule and restraint, the others put down to be trampled beneath their feet.*

“Europe is aware of this fact; and the nations, obedient to the necessary impulse of their position, forget, at once, their old rivalries, and in that horizontal division of society take their stand where they shall and where they must, nation with nation, people with people, and men with men. The physical force of the continental European governments having formed a union against the rights of the people in all countries, it is natural that popular aspirations of all countries flock together, with the instinct of the necessity of a common resistance against a common oppression. It is therefore, I say, that whosoever is animated by the devotion of patriotism has the devotion of philanthropism, because now-a-days true patriotism is in its efficacy philanthropic.

“But give me leave to say, gentlemen, that, such being the condition of the world, the inclination of remaining isolated (which I like to call

the policy of the silk-worm) must be dangerous to whatever people on earth; so much that I dare say, with nations yet free, the most enlightened philanthropy is in its effects the best and the wisest patriotism. It is the magnetic influence of this truth which I saw manifested in the sympathy and brotherly affection with which the people of the United States answered my humble appeal everywhere. Would to God that this universal instinct of the people's heart would go on everywhere, developing by calm consideration into such a conviction of the public intellect as it is my happy lot to see developed here in Massachusetts!

“God forbid that I should wish the people of the United States to take a single step inconsistent with the duties of patriotism! No; all I desire is that American patriotism should weigh the interests of America not by the narrow scale of the passing moment, or of a small party interest, but that it should rise to a position sufficient to overlook from the country at large, in all its relations and in all its necessities, and to overlook from not only the present, but also the conditions of its future security. American patriotism, elevated to that high position, I am sure of it, must condemn the short-sightedness of isolation, and must become in its activity philanthropic.

“It is already long ago, gentlemen, that Czar Alexander, of Russia, declared that henceforth governments should have no particular policy, but only a common one, the policy of safety of all governments; as if governments were the aim for which the nations exist, and not nations the aim for which governments exist.

“This doctrine of united governmental policy, in opposition to national policy, having the only tendency to safe-guard governments, however bad and oppressive they be,—nay, to safe-guard them precisely when they are oppressive and bad, because good governments are sufficiently safe-guarded by the affections of the governed—they require no foreign support,—this doctrine of a common policy of governments is neither more nor less than the policy of united force against right; it is the doctrine of interference by force for any government against any people who resist its oppression. That doctrine was first practically advanced in 1815, by that infernal league which the despots, with foul mockery, called the Holy Alliance.

“But it was evident that the interfering power, by its very interference, gains the ascendancy of a master over that power in whose favor it interferes. It was evident that, whenever a government cannot maintain itself against the resistance of the governed but by foreign

aid, that government has lost the strength to stand by itself, and becomes a vassal to that foreign power. We have, therefore, seen the members of that alliance, though readily executing that fatal principle towards others, long carefully avoiding its application to themselves. They have well known that against foreign attack foreign aid may be claimed and accepted without any forfeiture of national independence ; but a government standing against its own people by foreign aid loses its independence. Hence the wavering character of their policy from 1815 to 1848 ; a continual endeavor to oppress, and a continual retreat, by half-measured concessions, when opposition was about to assume the character of resistance.

“ Russia has grown in the mean time, drawing, by the skill of its diplomacy, profit out of every European strife. To become the master of the first-rate powers, and to sum up in its own unity the infernal trinity of the Holy Alliance, nothing more was wanted but an opportunity to interfere for a so-called great power against its own subjects. To come to that end, no craft, no intrigue, was spared. There was a constant declaration from St. Petersburg against constitutional concessions. They have been branded with the name of cowardice, styled to be a suicide of the authority of governments and of the divine right of sovereigns, and the kings have been urged to strike resolutely at the constitutional aspirations of their nations, encouraged by the promise of ready Russian aid, should they be resisted.

“ At last, the folly of a childish puppet, pulled by the criminal ambition of a woman in the imperial palace at Vienna, anxious to rule at any price, afforded the long-desired opportunity to Russia.

“ It was the certainty of Russian aid which gave the boldness to the court of Vienna to attack, perjuringly, Hungary. The principle of interference is carried out. Hungary is the sacrifice of it,—the balance of power is overthrown,—the autocrat of Russia is the dictator on the European continent ! But it is the doom of ambition not to be able to stop. The word is sure which the Scythians said to Alexander of Macedonia, ‘ Hadst thou conquered the world, thou wouldst try to build a bridge to the moon to extend thy conquest to it.’ Russia can rule the European continent only by ruling the world. It must go on, or fall ; and it goes on. It has absorbed the independence of all the continental governments of Europe. It has embodied in itself, as a unity, the principle of absolutism.

“ The nations of Europe, on the continent, have got a *master*. Many nations,—one master. That very word discloses the necessity of

our age: that necessity is resistance: and whatever is a necessity, that will be done. The nations of Europe will resist. The logic of necessity never can belie itself. That being the condition of the world, what is the evident result of it for England and America?

“They represent the principle of national sovereignty. They are the only remaining representatives of it. Now, if they are not willing to fight single-handed and alone against the opposite principle, if they are not willing to concentrate upon themselves all the danger of the contest, they must countenance the resistance of right against the principle of force. If they neglect to do it while there are yet others to perform the part of resistance, the necessity of resistance must come home to them. That is so evident, that I am at a loss to decide how it is possible to doubt about it. The policy of true patriotism for America and England is clearly pointed out by those circumstances.

“National existence rests on the principle of the mutual independence of the nations.

“The league of despots, substituting for this principle the antagonistical principle of interference, introduced force into the place of laws. With us in Europe, *force* having already been introduced, we cannot resist it but by *force*. Sword against sword, that is our necessity. But what is already a fact with us is already threatening danger to you. Your necessity, therefore, is to oppose law to force, and to support by the authority of law the resistance which we oppose to force. That assistance can but increase the chance of our success; and, if we succeed, you will be saved the trial to resort to force,—whereas, if we fail, there is no choice left to you but the sword against sword, resistance against force. Prevent that necessity before it is too late. It may be a noble pride to meet it, but it is best to prevent it. The best patriotism for America is national philanthropy for Europe. The sympathy which millions of Americans feel and profess is the best direction for American policy.

“Seventy-five years ago, the struggle for independence became a necessity; and you are free because your forefathers have not considered their own comfort, but yielded, with devotion, to the necessity of their time. The thirteen states confederated for resistance. Independence achieved, your fathers felt that the loose tie of confederation was not sufficient to guarantee that independence;—union was a necessity, and it was made.

“Well, what was the chief motive for the union? It was that, your national existence resting on the basis of the laws of nations, you

must have a national government strong enough to maintain those laws. Now the time has come to do it, because the laws of nations are contradicted by the power of force. It is a necessity of your existence to support those laws. By abandoning them you would abandon the foundation upon which you stand. Be not only a happy country, but also a power on earth. That is your present necessity. Internal freedom is not sure without external independence, and independence is not sure if it depends but on the sword.

“Right and law, restored to full authority, is a better security. We will fight for right and law. Give us that aid that you pronounce in favor of that right and law for which we struggle, and for which we will fight. In pronouncing in its favor now, you will have spared yourselves the trouble to fight for it. The freedom and prosperity of seventy-five years is a glorious view; but seventy-five years are not a security for eternity. Roxbury is built on rocky ground, and rock is a good foundation to build upon. Still you took for your motto that Roxbury trusts to God and to its right arm — ‘*Dextris Deoque Confidens.*’

“I also trust in God; and, thanking you for the kindness of your hearts, feel encouraged by that kindness to hope you will not withhold a brother’s right hand when patriotism itself claims it to support the rights and the laws of humanity.

“I have to request your kind indulgence, ladies and gentlemen. I am sick, very sick; and I am ashamed to be sick. Believe me, gentlemen, if I had not before me friends, and I had the opportunity to strike one good blow for my country, though thrice as sick, I could command the force to strike. [Applause.] But, as I am here, I can scarcely command force, from my infirmity, to speak. But, believe me, gentlemen, whatever my fate may be,—to fall a victim before the hour of victory, or to see the day,—I am ready to accept it. Though I may fall even in the first battle of our renewed struggle, as Warren did, it will be with the certain hope that the spirit of this shattered frame, from the regions beyond the grave, will look down on a world of free nations, secured in that freedom by the fraternal love of all humanity!”

After Kossuth had concluded, the audience called for a speech from General Wilson; but, at his request, Mr. Ellis begged the audience to excuse him, as it was necessary Kossuth should retire.

From the hall, Kossuth and suite, under conduct of the committee

of arrangements, proceeded to the residence of Hon. William Whiting, on Montrose-avenue, where he was introduced to several ladies and gentlemen. A banquet was given by Mr. Whiting to Kossuth, but the Hungarian was too ill to honor the occasion with his presence. He remained at Mr. Whiting's but a few moments, and then returned to Boston.

Montrose-avenue, and nearly all the elegant mansions therein, were illuminated in honor of Kossuth's visit.

The reception was throughout one of the most hearty and enthusiastic that was given to Kossuth in New England.

KOSSUTH IN LEXINGTON AND CONCORD.

KOSSUTH, having been invited to visit the first battle-fields of the Revolution, left Boston at ten o'clock on Tuesday morning, May 11, in company with several members of the State Committee. He proceeded first to the town of West Cambridge.

On his arrival at West Cambridge centre, Kossuth was conducted from his carriage to a stand, beautifully arched over with American flags, and draped with the Austrian flag, so arranged as to exhibit the crown in the centre of it in an *inverted* position, directly *beneath* the feet of the Magyar. On each side of this stand,—which was immediately in front of the monument erected in 1848 to commemorate the names of the twelve men who were slain by the British troops in that town on the 19th of April, 1775,—the school-children, to the number of four or five hundred, were stationed. In front, a cavalcade, numbering about two hundred horsemen, were drawn up in line, so as to form a large hollow square, which was filled with citizens of the town. During the delivery of the following speeches, the greatest silence and most perfect order were observed. Kossuth's welcome in West Cambridge was most cordial and appropriate; and the manner in which the ceremonies were conducted reflects the highest credit upon the intelligence and patriotism of its citizens. The arrangements for the occasion were conducted by a committee consisting of J. P. Pettee, M. W. Marsh, Benjamin Poland, J. C. Potter, and John Schouler.

Rev. Thomas Hill, on behalf of the citizens, addressed Kossuth as follows:

REV. THOMAS HILL'S ADDRESS.

“GOV. KOSSUTH: The duty and the honor of extending to you the hand of welcome upon this occasion devolves upon me. And, sir, in behalf of the authorities of the town, in behalf of my fellow-citizens who this day have come out from their homes, their work-shops and their fields, to greet you with their presence and their smiles of approbation, I bid you a sincere and cordial welcome to the town of West Cambridge.

“The people of this town, as you will find them in every part of

our commonwealth, are familiar with your name, your personal history, and the noble, manly struggle of your country for its rightful liberties; and, sir, reverencing the cause of universal freedom in their hearts, they are desirous of honoring you, the worthy representative of that cause, which, though crushed to earth on the soil of Hungary, they, as do your own brave countrymen, hope ere long to see rise again in triumph over oppression.

“Not much can we claim of the immortal fame that sounds abroad, in the names so familiar here and everywhere, of Lexington, Concord, and Bunker Hill. No formal action between the forces of King George and the pioneers of liberty in America took place on *our* soil; yet, sir, it is worthy of notice, that more blood was shed, and more lives were lost, in this town, than in any other which the enemy visited on the memorable 19th of April, 1775. Through this town did he advance, boastful and insolent, upon the town of Concord; and through this town did his shattered forces return, after his disastrous and unexpected reception at that place. Maddened and chagrined did he commence his retreat, marked all along with vengeance and outrage upon defenceless people; but, so aroused and indignant became the inhabitants, that his retreat through this place was little less than a complete rout.

“Within the range of your eye are buildings now standing which bear the marks of the enemy’s shot; within the same distance did the aged patriots of the village attack and capture the baggage-wagons, and thus cut off the supplies of the aggressors. And here, along the route which leads to other memorable spots you are soon to visit, did blood and death mark the devotion of the people of this place to the cause of human freedom.

“And yonder granite obelisk, so modest, yet so eloquent in its repose, and the brief story it tells of former days, now stands above the remains of twelve gallant men, whose lives were offered up on their country’s altar. Their spirits from above greet you to-day! As they fell, so were they buried, in a common grave. But a few years ago the citizens of the town collected the ashes together, and placed above them yonder stone, as a memorial of their deeds, and a guide to where they lie. The inscription tells us that but three of their names have been preserved from oblivion; but, sir, though their names are lost, yet the memory of their generous patriotism still lives fresh and warm in the hearts of those who now look upon their tomb. They are among the nameless dead, the sacrifice of whose lives is felt in a nation’s

destiny, but whose names are never recorded on the pages of its history.

“These things are local, and may seem trivial; but, sir, it is the little things in a nation’s history and character that form the basis of its greatness. We boast not of victories, we glory not in war. We love freedom, and we love peace. But we claim the right and the ability to govern ourselves. Hungary has the ability, and may the same right to her soon be acknowledged! The Austrian banner and crown are now beneath your feet. So may the rights of man rise above the emblems and the power of despotism!

“Again I bid you welcome to our pleasant village. The hearts and sympathies of this people are with you, and the noble cause you plead; and may God grant that we may yet hear of you as the Governor of Hungary, not in exile, but at home, administering the laws to a free and happy people, like that which greets you to-day,— your name associated with the cause of liberty in Europe, like that of our immortal Washington in America.”

Kossuth replied in substance as follows :

KOSSUTH’S SPEECH AT WEST CAMBRIDGE.

“I thank you for your kind and generous reception. It is inspiring to me to behold this evidence of sympathy for my country, and regard for myself, on the part of the citizens of West Cambridge. But, sir, you do injustice to this town, when you say its historical recollections are only of a local interest. They are not local; for the events connected with the struggles of the American Revolution are of interest, not only here, but throughout the world. They are felt now in the public spirit of the country, and are seen in the sympathy shown to the poor exile of a foreign land, now bleeding from the wounds of tyranny. I like to stand on hallowed ground, for it is full of inspiration to me; it gives me consolation and hope. A victory over an enemy, or a defeat, is not much in itself. It is the use that is made of it that gives it consequence and importance. The people of America have thus far made a good use of their success, yet they have not completed their destiny. Liberty was not granted to your forefathers as a selfish boon; your destiny is not completed, till, by the aid and influence of America, the oppressed nations of the earth are regenerated and made free.

“I admire the readiness with which the men of the American Rev-

olution met the wants of their country, regardless of consequences. They did not foresee the important consequences which would result from their conduct. Those men whose names are now unknown, but whose deeds are commemorated by the silent repose and eloquence of that monument, were not aware of what would follow this conduct. They fought and laid down their lives only with the feelings of free men. And it adds to the greatness and generosity of their conduct, because they entered the contest for liberty with no ambition for fame, and without caring whether their names should be known to posterity or not, only that their country and their children should be free. The influence of the sacrifice they made has not yet ceased; for free America must yet regenerate the world.

“In the erection of that monument, which you say was in 1848, I see an evidence that America has not yet completed her destiny. It was in 1848 that your citizens erected a monument to commemorate the first struggle of this country for liberty, and it was in 1848 that the struggle for liberty in the Old World broke out again. The spirit of freedom lives here, and is seen in a regard for the memories of the past; it lives, too, in Europe, and is seen in the struggles of the present, and hopes for the future. And, sir, the Old World, oppressed and loaded with chains, dispirited with defeat, needs to be inspired and strengthened with the example, the encouragement, and the young blood, of America.”

At the conclusion of this speech, Miss Susan Richardson and Miss Marietta Frost were introduced on the stand; and Miss Richardson presented a beautiful bouquet, remarking,—“Governor Kossuth, allow me, in behalf of our public schools, to present you this as a slight token of our love for you, and the cause of liberty.”

Kossuth replied, by thanking the ladies very cordially for their beautiful flowers. He said he regretted that they must so soon wither, and invoked a blessing on the young ladies for their kind regard.

The procession was then re-formed, and Kossuth, escorted by the horsemen of West Cambridge and the neighboring towns, proceeded to the boundary-line of the town of Lexington, where he was received by the Lexington committee and a large body of horsemen. Many of the houses and trees on the route were finely decorated with flags and streamers. The procession moved on until it reached the residence of Jonathan Harrington, ninety-four years of age, the only survivor in Lexington of the action of April 19, 1775, to whom Kossuth

was introduced, and to whom he addressed a few words. When the procession reached the Lexington House, a short stop was made. Thence it proceeded to the Common, where a rostrum had been erected against the monument, and appropriately decorated. Over the entrance to the Common was the inscription, "WELCOME TO THE BIRTH-PLACE OF AMERICAN LIBERTY." A large number of school-children, boys and girls, were ranged along the walk to the stand, and greeted Kossuth as he passed.

On reaching the platform, Kossuth was introduced, by Colonel I. H. Wright, to Hon. Charles Hudson, chairman of the Lexington committee.

COL. WRIGHT'S SPEECH.

"MR. CHAIRMAN OF THE CITIZENS' COMMITTEE OF LEXINGTON: I have the honor to present to you Louis Kossuth, the honored guest of our state and nation, the gallant champion of Hungarian independence, the able and indomitable advocate of civil liberty, the rightful Governor of Hungary.

"Bear with me while I say that no worthier pilgrim could come to pay his vows at this, our shrine of liberty; for he is consecrated by a mission kindred to that which hallows the memory of the martyrs of 1775, whose blood has sanctified this spot, of all the earth, whereon we stand."

Mr. Hudson, in behalf of his townsmen, then addressed Kossuth:

MR. HUDSON'S ADDRESS.

"GOVERNOR KOSSUTH: As the organ of the citizens of Lexington, I bid you a cordial welcome to this quiet and peaceful village. We are assembled here this morning to pay our honors and to tender our sympathy to one who, in other lands, has so nobly vindicated the rights of man against the encroachments of arbitrary and despotic power. Your advocacy of human rights, your devotion to the best interests of your beloved country, your labors for her welfare, and your sufferings in her behalf, justly commend you to the friends of free institutions throughout the world. We rejoice in this opportunity of tendering to you our unfeigned regard, and to your bleeding country our kindest sympathy.

"We welcome you to this consecrated spot, on which was shed the

first blood in that glorious struggle which made us a free and prosperous people, and gave us a name among the nations of the earth. But these blessings were dearly bought. This green has been trampled by a foreign foe. Here our fathers met their oppressors, and this unpretending stone tells the sad story of their fate. In yonder dilapidated and humble dwelling our domestic exiles, the proscribed Hancock and Adams, sought a retreat, and, like the heroes in Grecian story, consulted the patriot priest on the safety of the commonwealth.

“But a brighter day has dawned upon our country; and some of the sainted patriots who passed through those struggles, through that wilderness of dangers, and that Red Sea of blood, are here to-day to partake of the blessings of this Canaan of rest.

“So may it be with your beloved country! Though a dark cloud overshadows her, its gilded margin betokens a brighter sky, and points to the rainbow of promise. Your country must ultimately be free. Austria and Russia may combine against her, but their efforts cannot prosper. Let these tyrants rely upon their fortresses and their armies, let their legions come up like the locusts of Egypt; but their trust is vain.

‘God mortifies the pride of human trust,
And towers and armies levels in the dust.’

“I again welcome you to the birth-place of American liberty, and to all the hallowed associations which cluster around this place. I welcome you to the hearts of this people.”

KOSSUTH'S SPEECH AT LEXINGTON.

“GENTLEMEN: It has been often my lot to stand upon classical ground, where the whispering breeze is fraught with wonderful tales of devoted virtue, bright glory, and heroic deeds. And I have sat upon ruins of ancient greatness, blackened by the age of centuries; and I saw the living ruins of those ancient times, called men, roaming about the sacred ground, unconscious of the very fact that the dust which clung to their boots was the relic of departed demigods, and I rose with a deep sigh. Those demigods were but men; and the degenerated shapes that roamed around me, on the hallowed ground, were also not less than men. The decline and fall of nations impressed the mark of degradation on nature itself. It is sad to think upon; it lops the soaring wings of the mind, and chills the fiery arms of energy. But, however dark be the impression of such ruins of vanished great-

ness upon the mind of men who themselves have experienced the fragility of human fate, -thanks to God, there are bright spots yet on earth, where the recollections of the past, brightened by present prosperity, strengthen the faith in the future of mankind's destiny. Such a spot is this.

“Gentlemen, should the awful reverence which this spot commands allow a modest smile, I would feel inclined to smile at the eager controversy about the question if it be Lexington or Concord where the fire of the British was first returned by Americans. Let it be so or thus, it will neither increase nor abate the merit of the martyrs who fell here. It is their sacrificed blood with which is written the preface of your nation's history; and the names on yonder monument have equal claims to immortality, let their owners have been butchered martyrs or victims of a battle-field. Their death was, and will always be, the first bloody revelation of America's destiny, and Lexington the opening scene of a revolution of which Governor Boutwell was right to say, that it is destined to change the character of human governments and the condition of the human race.

“Should the republic of America ever lose the consciousness of this destiny, that moment would be just so sure the beginning of America's decline, as the 19th of April, 1775, was the beginning of the republic of America.

“Prosperity is not always, gentlemen, a guarantee of the future, if it be not accompanied with a constant resolution to obey the call of the genius of the time. Nay, material prosperity is often the mark of material decline, when it either results in, or is connected with, a moral stagnation in the devoted attachment to principles. Rome was never richer, never mightier, than under Trajan; and still it had already the sting of death in its very heart.

“To me, whenever I stand upon such sacred ground as this, the spirits of the departed appear like the prophets of future events. The language they speak to my heart is the revelation of Providence.

“The struggle of America for independence was providential. It was a necessity. Those circumstances which superficial consideration takes for the motives of your glorious Revolution have been but accidental opportunities for it. Had those circumstances not occurred, others had occurred, and had presented, perhaps, a different opportunity; but the Revolution would have come. It was a necessity, because the colonies of America had attained that lawful age in the development of all the elements of national existence, which claims the

right to stand by itself, and cannot more be led by a child's leading-strings, be the hand which leads it a mother's or a step-mother's hand. Circumstances and the connection of events was such, that this unavoidable emancipation had to pass the violent concussion of severe trials. The immortal glory of your forefathers was, that they did not shrink to accept the trial, and were devoted and heroic to sacrifice themselves to their country's destiny. And the monuments you erect to their memory, and the religious reverence with which you cherish their memory, are indeed well-deserved tributes of gratitude.

“ But, allow me to say, there is a tribute which those blessed spirits are still more fond to claim from you,— the happy inheritance of the fruits they have raised for you,— it is the tribute of always remaining true to their principle ; and that principle was devotion to the destiny of your country, and that destiny is to become the corner-stone of liberty on earth. Empires can be but maintained by the same virtue by which they have been founded. O ! let me hope that, while the recollections connected with this hallowed ground inspire the heart of the wandering exile with consolation, with hope, and with perseverance, in the very fact that I have stood here, fraught with the anxious prayers and expectations of the Old World's oppressed millions, you will see the finger of God pointing out the appropriate opportunity to act your part in America's destiny, by maintaining the laws of nature and of nature's God, for which your heroes fought and your martyrs died ; and to regenerate the world,

‘ Proclaiming freedom in the name of God,’

till, to continue in the beautiful words of your Whittier,

‘ Its blessings fall,
Common as dew and sunshine, over all.’ ”

Upon the platform, Kossuth was presented to Abijah Harrington, aged ninety-one, and Amariah Preston, ninety-four, Revolutionary veterans, whom he congratulated on having been engaged in the struggle for independence, and expressed the wish that they might be preserved still longer, and see the prosperity of their country always increasing, and new glories added to her.

The procession again formed, and took up the line of march for Concord. On arriving at the town line, it was met by the reception committee, to whom Kossuth was introduced by Hon. F. R. Gourgas. Thence, under the charge of Col. Holbrook, chief mar-

shal, it proceeded to the "Heywood Place," where Adams and Hancock slept the night before the battle, and where the Concord Artillery, Captain Wood, were in waiting. After a slight halt, the procession moved on to the town-house, amidst the ringing of bells, the firing of cannon, and the cheers of the multitude. On arriving in front of the town-hall, the escort halted, and the carriages containing Kossuth and invited guests proceeded to the battle-ground. Over the gateway was the inscription, "19th of April, 1775 — Birth-day of American Liberty." After driving around the monument, they returned to the residence of Hon. John S. Keyes, where Kossuth and his companions dined.

In front of the Unitarian Church were assembled the children of the various public schools, under the charge of their teachers, who cheered Kossuth as he passed. This assemblage of children was one of the prettiest features of the day.

At half-past four o'clock Kossuth entered the town-hall, which was well filled with an audience composed principally of ladies. At the entrance he was met by a committee of young ladies from the High School, Misses Hosmer, Derby, and Buttrick, who were delegated, in behalf of the High School, to present him with a bouquet. Miss Hosmer said:

"GOVERNOR KOSSUTH: In the name of my associates, the scholars of the public schools of Concord, permit me to present you this bouquet, as an expression of our love and esteem for you and your glorious cause. It is a slight gift; but, as we know the same sunlight caused these flowers to bud and blossom, the same breezes fanned them, which call forth the flowers of your father-land, we have thought they might bring you a pleasant remembrance of home. It may be they will give a sad one, too; for we know that that home is now in the hands of the spoiler. But we hope, with all the fervor of young hearts, that the time is not far distant when it will be free,—free as our own. We would hope that even now we can see, glimmering in the orient, the dawn of that happy day which is to bring freedom to Hungary, which is to give to her sons and daughters the same rich advantages of schools and kindred institutions which we enjoy.

"Tell us, sir, the descendants of those before whom tyranny first turned its back to liberty in the New World (we wish to hear it from your own lips), if that time will not soon come? Then, we know, the

scholars of her schools will rejoice, as we do to-day, to be allowed to present a garland to the exile of tyranny from other lands.

“Please accept our offering; and may the language of each flower bespeak the scholars of Concord friends to yourself, to Hungary, and universal liberty!”

Kossuth returned his thanks to the fair donor and her associates, and passed on. Upon entering the hall, he was received by the audience in the most enthusiastic manner. Cheer followed cheer, and it was some minutes before the order of exercises could be proceeded with. When the cheering had subsided, Hon. J. S. Keyes introduced Ralph Waldo Emerson, who, in behalf of his townsmen, addressed Kossuth thus :

MR. EMERSON'S ADDRESS.

“SIR: The fatigues of your many public visits, in such unbroken succession as may compare with the toils of a campaign, forbid us to detain you long. The people of this town share with their countrymen the admiration of valor and perseverance; they, like their compatriots, have been hungry to see the man whose extraordinary eloquence is seconded by the splendor and the solidity of his actions. But, as it is the privilege of the people of this town to keep a hallowed mound which has a place in the story of the country, we knew beforehand that you would not go by us; you could not take all your steps in the pilgrimage of American liberty, until you had seen with your eyes the ruins of the little bridge where a handful of brave farmers opened our Revolution. Therefore we sat and waited for you.

“And now, sir, we are heartily glad to see you at last in these fields. We set no more value than you do on cheers and huzzas. But we think that the graves of our heroes around us throb to-day to a footstep that sounded like their own :

‘The mighty tread,
Brings from the dust the sound of liberty.’

“Sir, we have watched with attention your progress through the land, and the varying feeling with which you have been received, and the unvarying tone and countenance which you have maintained. We wish to discriminate in our regard. We wish to reserve our honor for actions of the noblest strain. We please ourselves that in you we meet with one whose temper was long since tried in the fire, and made

equal to all events; a man so truly in love with a glorious fortune, that he cannot be diverted to any less.

“It is our republican doctrine, too, that the wide variety of opinions is an advantage. I believe I may say, of the people of this country at large, that their sympathy is more worth, because it stands the test of party. It is not a blind wave; it is a living soul, contending with living souls. It is in every expression antagonized. No opinion will pass, but must stand the tug of war. As you see, the love you win is worth something, for it has been argued through; its foundation searched; it has proved sound and whole; it may be avowed; it will last; and it will draw all opinion to itself.

“We have seen with great pleasure that there is nothing accidental in your attitude. We have seen that you are organically in that cause you plead. The man of freedom, you are also the man of fate. You do not elect, but you are elected by God and your genius to your task. We do not, therefore, affect to thank you. We only see in you the angel of freedom, crossing sea and land; crossing parties, nationalities, private interests, and self-esteems; dividing populations, where you go, and drawing to your part only the good. We are afraid you are growing popular, sir; you may be called to the dangers of prosperity. But hitherto you have had, in all countries and in all parties, only the men of heart. I do not know but you will have the million yet. Then, may your strength be equal to your day! But remember, sir, that everything great and excellent in the world is in minorities.

“Far be from us, sir, any tone of patronage; — we ought rather to ask yours. We know the austere condition of liberty, that it must be re-conquered over and over again; yea, day by day, that it is a state of war; that it is always slipping from those who boast it to those who fight for it; and you, the foremost soldier of freedom, in this age; — it is for us to crave your judgment; who are we, that we should dictate to you? You have won your own. We only affirm it. This country of working-men greets in you a worker. This republic greets in you a republican. We only say, ‘Well done, good and faithful.’ You have earned your own nobility at home. We admit you *ad eundem*, as they say at college; we admit you to the same degree, without new trial; we suspend all rules before so paramount a merit. You may well sit a doctor in the college of liberty; you have achieved your right to interpret our Washington. And I speak the sense, not only of every generous American, but the law of mind, when I say that it is not those who live idly in the city called after his name, but those

who, all over the world, think and act like him, who may claim to explain the sentiment of Washington.

“Sir, whatever obstruction, from selfishness, indifference, or from property,—which always sympathizes with possession,—you may encounter, we congratulate you that you have learned how to convert calamities into powers, exile into a campaign, present defeat into lasting victory. For this new crusade which you preach to willing and unwilling ears in America is a seed of armed men. You have got your story told in every palace, and log hut, and prairie camp, throughout this continent. And, as the shores of Europe and America approach every month, and their politics will one day mingle, when the crisis arrives, it will find us all instructed beforehand in the rights and wrongs of Hungary, and parties already to her freedom.”

Kossuth replied as follows :

KOSSUTH'S SPEECH AT CONCORD.

“I am afraid to speak here. I like to listen to the tale the spirits of martyrs tell, and to words like yours, sir [Mr. Emerson], full of wisdom and philanthropy. The answer I can give will scarcely possess the merit to satisfy the American people. One thing I may assume, and one thing own,—should the Almighty give me prosperity, yet in my life it would not carry me away, not to be frank, not only in adversity, but in duty, which is a good guard as well against ambition in prosperity as in adversity. One thing I may own,—that it is, indeed, true, everything good has yet been in the minority; still mankind went on, and is going on, to that destiny the Almighty designed, when all good will not be confined to the minority, but will prevail amongst all mankind.

“I hail thee, hallowed ground of Concord, thou sacred baptistry, where the people of America first baptized itself to the name of a ‘nation’ with its own and its enemies’ blood! I hail thee, Concord,—thou John the Baptist of American Independence! ‘When invaded by oppression, resistance becomes the Christian and social duty of each individual.’ Thus spoke the leaders of Massachusetts, when the spirit of national freedom first moved through this air which I now breathe. It was here that word was bravely redeemed by a people transformed into heroes by the charm of liberty.

“The leaders swore ‘never to yield, but, with a proper sense of

dependence on God, to defend those rights which Heaven gave, and no one ought to take.' It was here that oath first was made good. Be thou blessed forever, hallowed ground of Concord! and ye spirits of the departed, take up, upon good angelic wings, the prayers of the poor wandering exile, who, on the hallowed ground of Concord, invokes the young spirit of the New World to regenerate the Old!

"Gentlemen, remember what had to pass in the Old World, that Hungary's exiled chief thus might be standing on Concord's hallowed ground, and that such prayers fall from his lips from such a place. O, silence for a while the noble pride of your prosperity, and bow with reverence before the finger of God! He is the God of all humanity. What he did for you he meant to do for humanity. Concord became the preface of liberty in America, that America might become the preface of liberty on earth. That is my faith. I have drawn this faith from the philosophy of your history.

"It is strange, indeed, how every incident of the present bears the mark of deeper meaning around me. It is a meaning in the very fact that it is you, sir, by whom the representative of Hungary's ill-fated struggle is so generously welcomed, in the name of Concord, to the shrine of martyrs illumined by victory. You are wont to dive into the mysteries of truth, and disclose mysteries of right to the eyes of men.

"Your honored name is Emerson; and Emerson was the name of the man, who, a minister of the gospel, turned out with his people on the 19th of April of eternal memory, when the alarm-bell first was rung. The words of an Emerson administered counsel and the comfort of religion to the distressed then, and the words of an Emerson now speak the comfort of philosophy to the cause of oppressed liberty.

"I take hold of that augury, sir. Religion and philosophy, you blessed twins,—upon you I rely with my hopes to America. Religion, the philosophy of the heart, will make the Americans generous; and philosophy, the religion of the mind, will make the Americans wise; and all that I claim is a generous wisdom and a wise generosity.

"Gentlemen, it would be evidently a mistake to believe that the Revolution of America was the accidental result of circumstances which England could have prevented. No, gentlemen, England could not have retained possession of this country, except only by transforming herself into a republic, or, at least, into a democratic monarchy. That would have been the only means to prevent the separation. Those acts of the British Parliament which virtually repealed the

charter of Massachusetts, those acts were, indeed, oppressive, arbitrary and tyrannical. They would have, in every other portion of the world, justified a revolution; but here, in your country, those arbitrary acts of the government have been but an opportunity to assert with arms that national independence, which, also, without that opportunity, would have been asserted,—perhaps, in a different way,—but would have been asserted certainly, because it was a necessity;—not only a necessity with your own country, gentlemen, but a logical necessity in the progress of mankind's history. The arbitrary acts of the British government were a crime; but not to have understood that necessity, and not to have yielded to it by amicable arrangement without sacrifices, that was a *fault*.

“In my opinion, there is not a single fact in history which would have been so distinctly marked to be providential, with reference to all humanity, as the colonization, revolution, and republicanism, of the now United States of America.

“This immense continent being discovered and brought within the scope of European civilization, peopled with elements of that civilization, could not remain a mere appendix to Europe,—that is evident. But this America, being connected as it is with Europe by a thousand social, moral and material ties,—by the ties of blood, religion, language, science, civilization and commerce,—to me it is equally evident, that to believe that this so connected America can rest isolated in politics from Europe, that would be just such a fault as that was that England did not believe in time the necessity of America's independence.

“Yes, gentlemen, this is so much true, that I would pledge life, honor, and everything dear to man's heart, and honorable to man's memory, that either America must take its becoming part in the political regeneration of Europe, or she herself must yield to the pernicious influence of European politics.

“There was never yet a more fatal mistake than it would be to believe that, by not caring about the political condition of Europe, America may remain unaffected by the condition of Europe.

“I could, perhaps, understand such an opinion, if you would or could be entirely and in every respect isolated from Europe; but, as you are not isolated, as you cannot be, as you cannot even have the will to be isolated, because that very will would be a paradox, a logical absurdity, impossible to be carried out, being contrary to the eternal laws of God, which he for nobody's sake will change, therefore

to believe that you can go on to be connected with Europe in a thousand respects, and still remain unaffected by its social and political condition, would be, indeed, a fatal aberration.

“You stretch your gigantic hands a thousand-fold every day over the waves; your relations with Europe are not only commercial, as with Asia,—they are also social, moral, spiritual, intellectual. You take Europe every day by the hand; how, then, could you believe that, if that hand of Europe, which you grasp every day, remains dirty, you can escape from seeing your own hands soiled? The more clean your hands are, the more will the filth of old Europe stick to them. There is no possible means to escape from being soiled, than to help us Europeans to wash the hands of our Old World.

“You have heard, of the ostrich, that, when persecuted by an enemy, it is wont to hide its head, leaving its body exposed. It believes that, by not regarding it, it will not be seen by the enemy. That curious aberration is worthy of reflection. It is typical.

“Yes, gentlemen, either America will regenerate the condition of the Old World, or it will be degenerated by the condition of the Old World.

“Sir, I implore you [Mr. Emerson] give me the aid of your philosophical analysis, to impress the conviction upon the public mind of your nation that the Revolution, to which Concord was the preface, is full of a higher destiny,—of a destiny broad as the world, broad as humanity itself.

“Let me entreat you to apply the analytic powers of your penetrating intellect to disclose the character of the American Revolution, as you disclose the character of self-reliance, of spiritual laws, of intellect, of nature, or of politics: lend the authority of your judgment to the truth that the destiny of the American Revolution is not yet fulfilled; that the task is not yet completed; that to stop half way is worse than would have been not to stir; repeat those words of deep meaning which once you wrote about the monsters that looked backward, and about the walking with reverted eye, while the voice of the Almighty says ‘Up and onward forevermore,’ and while the instinct of your people, which never fails to be right, answered the call of destiny by taking for its motto the word “ahead.”

“Indeed, gentlemen, the monuments you raised to the heroic martyrs who fertilized with their heart’s blood the soil of liberty, these monuments are a fair tribute of well-deserved gratitude, gratifying to the spirits who are hovering around us, and honorable to you. Woe to

the people which neglected to honor its great and good men! but, believe me, gentlemen, those blest spirits would look down with saddened brows to this free and happy land, if ever they were doomed to see that the happy inheritors of their martyrdom had the pretension to believe that the destiny to which that sacred martyr blood was sacrificed is accomplished, and its price fully paid, in the already achieved results, because the living generation dwells comfortably and makes two dollars out of one.

“No, gentlemen, the stars on the sky have a higher aim than that to illumine the night-path of some lonely wanderer. The course your nation is called to run is not yet half performed. Mind the fable of Atalanta: it was a golden apple thrown into her way which made her fall short in her race.

“Two things I have met here, in these free and mighty United States, which I am at a loss how to make concord. The two things I cannot concord are:—First, that all your historians, all your statesmen, all your distinguished orators, who wrote or spoke, characterize it as an era in mankind’s destiny destined to change the condition of the world, upon which it will rain an ever-flowing influence. And, secondly, in contradiction to this universally adopted consideration, I have met in many quarters a propensity to believe that it is conservative wisdom not to take any active part in the regulation of the condition of the outward world.

“These two things do not concord. If that be the destiny of America which you all believe to be, then, indeed, that destiny can never be fulfilled by acting the part of passive spectators, and by this very passivity granting a charter to ambitious Czars to dispose of the condition of the world.

“I have met distinguished men trusting so much to the operative power of your institutions and of your example, that they really believe they will make their way throughout the world merely by their moral influence. But there is one thing those gentlemen have disregarded, in their philanthropic reliance; and that is, that the ray of sun never yet made its way, by itself, through well-closed shutters and doors; they must be drawn open, that the blessed rays of the sun may get in. I have never yet heard of a despot who had yielded to the moral influence of liberty. The ground of Concord itself is an evidence of it; the doors and shutters of oppression must be opened by bayonets, that the blessed rays of your institutions may penetrate into the dark dwelling-house of oppressed humanity.

“ Allow me, gentlemen, to make the remark, that there is no word so much abused as the word conservatism. I have known children, who have got a hole in their coats, put their fingers in it to make it more large. Well, they conserved the hole. If that be conservatism, then I will not dispute that the policy of not caring about the condition of the world is conservative; but the conservation of a hole I am inclined to style, not conservatism, but indeed a very destructive policy.

“ I have spoken, gentlemen, about the high destiny of the American Revolution, a work not yet finished, because once more, sir [Mr. Emerson], ‘up and onward forevermore’ is the word of the Almighty God. Progress is life; stagnation is death. And I may be excused for taking that elevated position for the prospects of America’s destiny.

“ I am an exile of the Old World, fraught with the hopes and expectations of oppressed millions. I may be excused for looking anxiously into the mysteries of your national existence, if I could not find out there a flower of consolation to my poor native land, well deserving a better fate.

“ But let me forsake that elevated position, and step down lower to the standing-place of your own national interests, of your own American policy. Even thus, I hope nobody will contradict me, that in the life of a nation there are different periods equally necessary, of equally vital importance, if that nation desires to live. And it is but necessary to open their eyes, and to look to the condition of your glorious land, to become aware that now there is such a necessity for your future to be a power on earth, as it was necessary in 1775 to make a revolution, and to become independent and free.

“ And I must say it, even at the risk of offending your national pride, that you are not yet a power on earth; and you will be no power on earth so long as you permit other powers to dispose of the laws of nations, and of the common interests of all humanity.

“ And by not becoming a power on earth, when it is a necessity to do so, you lose, you must lose, the glorious position you hold; because, as you well may see, the other powers of the earth dispose of the world’s condition in a direction antagonistical to your interests,— in a direction in which your principles lose ground on earth, instead of gaining ground, as you should.

“ There are men who believe the position of a power on earth will come to you by itself; but O! do not trust to this fallacy! A position never comes by itself; it must be taken, and taken it never will be by passivity.

“The martyrs who have hallowed by their blood the ground of Concord trusted themselves, and occupied the place Divine Providence assigned them. Sir, the words are yours which I quote. You have told your people that they are now men, and must accept in the highest mind the same destiny; — that they are not minors and invalids in a protected corner; but guides, redeemers and benefactors, advancing on chaos and on the dark.

“I pray God to give your people the sentiment of the truth you have taught.

“Your people, fond of its prosperity, loves peace. Well, who would not love peace? But allow me again, sir, to repeat, with all possible emphasis, the great words you spoke, ‘Nothing can bring you peace but a triumph of principles.’

“The people of America’s instinct is with my prayers. It is with me once more your words, sir, ‘What your heart thinks great is great.’ The soul’s emphasis is always right.

“To this I will trust; and, reminding you of the fact that in the soil of Concord the ashes of your martyrs are mingled in concord with the ashes of your enemies, and out of both liberty has grown, I say let this be an augury. Let the future be regulated, not by long past disinclinations, but by present necessities; not by anticipations of olden times, but by sympathies congenial to the present times; and let the word ‘Concord’ be an augury to that fraternity amongst nations which will make the world free, and your nation the first and the greatest among the free.”

At the conclusion of Kossuth’s speech, the procession formed, and escorted him to the depot, where a decorated car, furnished by the Fitchburg Railroad Company expressly for the occasion, was in waiting. At a few minutes past six, amidst the hearty cheers of the multitude, he took his departure for Boston.

The day was fine, and, with the exception of the dust, was all that could have been desired. All the arrangements for Kossuth’s visit were made with great skill and judgment, and were admirably carried out by the various gentlemen who were appointed to execute them. Their completeness was the subject of general remark and commendation.

The Concord committee was composed of John S. Keyes, G. R. Hoar, Francis R. Gourgas, Joseph Holbrook, Jacob B. Farmer, Addison G. Fay, Asa Brook, Lowell Fay, A. C. Damon, John Brown,

Jr., Francis A. Wheeler, Nathan Barrett, Samuel Staples, Wm. W. Whieldon, Nathan B. Stowe, and George M. Brooks. Mr. Holbrook was chief marshal.

“The route,” says the Commonwealth, “was along an interesting battle-ground, enlivened with many thousands of people, and hundreds of flags and streamers floating from beautiful houses and trees that were just putting on their fresh spring dress. The whole journey, considering its shortness, the places visited, and the circumstances attending it, was one of the most interesting ever made.”

KOSSUTH IN PLYMOUTH.

By a public meeting of the citizens of Plymouth, Governor Kossuth was invited to visit that ancient town, and the following committee of arrangements appointed :

Captain John Russell, chairman ; M. Bates, Jr., E. C. Sherman, Daniel J. Lane, John D. Churchill, Jacob H. Loud, Charles O. Churchill, B. H. Holmes, George Harlow, Atwood L. Drew, John E. Churchill, William T. Drew, Wm. H. Nelson, Edmund Robbins, Daniel J. Robbins, W. S. Macomber, Aaron Cornish, Robert Cowen, Andrew L. Russell, and Samuel H. Doten.

Wednesday morning, May 12, a sub-committee went to Boston to accompany Kossuth from thence to Plymouth. It had been announced that Kossuth would start from Boston at ten o'clock A. M., and accordingly vast crowds assembled at the various stopping places along the line of the railroad, in hopes of seeing, if not hearing him. But, from some mistake in the notice that was sent to him, Kossuth was led to suppose that the hour of departure was one o'clock ; and he found it impossible to get ready at ten, the hour designated. At a quarter before one, however, he set out from Boston, in a car which had been splendidly decorated for the occasion by the officers of the Old Colony Railroad. He was accompanied by Captains Kalapsza and Greschenek, M. Pulszky, Maj. Hajnik, Mr. Cogshall, the reporter of the N. Y. Tribune, and by Messrs. Alden, Torrey, and Church, of the Senate, and Thomas, of the House, on the part of the state committee ; his Excellency, Governor Boutwell, and Hon. G. B. Weston of the Executive Council, Judge Russell, and a few other invited guests of the committee ; H. W. Nelson, Esq., the superintendent, and A. Holmes, Esq., one of the directors, of the railroad, and by various reporters of the Boston press.

The train reached Plymouth at twenty minutes before two. It had rained heavily all the morning, notwithstanding which a vast concourse of people had been, for several hours, waiting Kossuth's arrival at the railroad station. On alighting from the cars, Kossuth was introduced, by the member of the committee who had accompanied him from Boston, to Captain J. Russell, who addressed him thus :

“GOVERNOR KOSSUTH : In behalf of the inhabitants of Plymouth, I bid you a hearty welcome to the land of the Pilgrims, the home of

our fathers, whose history bears in many points a strong resemblance to your own. Like them, you have perilled all that is dear for great principles. Like them, you have struggled, suffered and encountered merciless, and, I may add, savage foes. Like them, through fearful trials, you have held fast to liberty and religion. May it please Heaven to complete the parallel, and crown your labors with a harvest as rich as we are now reaping from theirs!

“We invite you to visit with us, if you please, grounds watered by their tears, and hallowed by their prayers.”

Kossuth responded in a very few words, after which Governor Boutwell was introduced, and the guests were conducted to the Samoset House.

After a few minutes' social intercourse, the visitors were reconducted to the carriages, and proceeded to Pilgrim Hall, where a procession was formed, under the direction of John D. Churchill, chief marshal, and aids, which, under the escort of the Standish Guards, Capt. Churchill, proceeded through Court and North streets to “Plymouth Rock,” where the procession halted a sufficient time to allow Kossuth to stand on the spot hallowed by the footsteps of the Pilgrims in 1620, and then proceeded to the Gothic church, which had been partially filled by bond-holders. It being evident, from the inclemency of the weather, that an address in the open air was out of the question, Kossuth requested to have the doors opened, when, in a very few minutes, the church was crowded to its utmost capacity.

After a voluntary from the organ, and a performance by the choir of a portion of Mrs. Hemans' ode, “The breaking waves dashed high,” &c., the meeting was opened by prayer from Rev. Charles S. Porter, after which Governor Kossuth was welcomed to the landing-place of the Pilgrims by the venerable James Kendall, D. D., who for fifty-four years has been settled as a minister at Plymouth.

DR. KENDALL'S ADDRESS OF WELCOME.

“GOVERNOR KOSSUTH: In the name and in behalf of the inhabitants of Plymouth, I give you a sincere and cordial welcome to the ‘Landing-place of the Pilgrims.’ Most that is interesting to a stranger on this memorable spot are its associations.

“It is the ground, as you know, first trodden and primarily occupied by our Pilgrim Fathers, after reaching the shores of this western

continent. A few choice spirits they were, — exiles, like yourself, from oppression and persecution, and in search of freedom, and liberty to worship God according to their understanding of the sacred Scriptures.

“As you pass through the streets of this ancient town, and are pointed to some of its interesting localities, — recollecting that here are the footsteps of that noble band of illustrious men, who, a little more than two hundred and thirty years ago, laid the foundation of freedom and a vast republic in this New World, — you will feel, as the friends of liberty have felt before you, that you are treading on holy ground; ground hallowed by the prayers of holy men, and consecrated by being the resting-place of their precious remains, while their immortal spirits are reaping the reward of their toils and sacrifices in the paradise of God. A choice vine, planted by the hands of a few wandering pilgrims, and nurtured by their prayers and their tears, under the smiles of Heaven took deep root, and has grown and spread, shooting out its branches from river to river, and from sea to sea, until, lo! it hath filled the land.

“These are some of the considerations that will render your short visit to Plymouth, we hope, of some interest to you. Besides, you will be introduced to some of the direct descendants, bearing the name, and, we trust, inheriting something of the spirit, of a pious ancestry, — at least, their love of civil and religious freedom, and their determination, God helping them, to ‘stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made them free; and not to be entangled again in the yoke of bondage.’

“But we welcome you to this memorable landing-place of the Pilgrims for other reasons, also. It is because of the deep interest we have felt in your person, character and enterprise. We have sympathized in the disappointments and misfortunes of your oppressed and down-trodden country. We have followed you with deep solicitude and increased interest in your banishment, your imprisonment, your exile and wanderings from country to country, and from sea to sea, until your safe arrival on these American shores. We have participated in the pleasure which your presence and your thrilling words have everywhere produced, and the cordial greetings with which they have been received. But, more than all, as the descendants of a pious ancestry, we have admired and sympathized most deeply with the religious element in your character, which has been everywhere and

on all occasions manifested, so far as your history has been made known to us.

“It is not, permit me to say, sir, your patriotism, your love of country, merely,—though ready and willing to lay down your life for her,—that has excited the greatest interest, and awakened the deepest sympathy in our hearts; however noble and praiseworthy this trait in your character, it is not this alone which we most admire and venerate, and which has made the deepest impression upon us. Neither is it your philanthropy, your love of the race, alone, and your desire for universal freedom, that has awakened all this interest in the religious community; but it is, I repeat, the RELIGIOUS ELEMENT in your character, which lies deeper than all else, that has kindled such general sympathy, not only in our own hearts, but in the hearts of the American people. It is PRINCIPLE that led you to prefer imprisonment to Mahometanism; banishment, with Christianity in your heart, to freedom, purchased by the sacrifice of your religious faith.

“It is your profound reverence, your constant and devout acknowledgment of the Universal Father, and your unwavering confidence in his ever-guardian providence, which never suffers the righteous to be forsaken, but who, in his own good time, makes bare his arm for their deliverance, breaks the yoke of the oppressor, and lets the oppressed go free.

“It is this religious element more than all else, we believe, that has sustained you during your sojourn in this country, under the pressure of unequalled intellectual labor; given power and pathos to your eloquence, and bound you, as with cords of steel, to the heart of the American people. The preservation of your health and your life, under the pressure of so much care and toil, and exposed to so many perils, is an indication of the favor of a kind and ever-guardian providence, which listens to the cry of the raven, and bears up the falling sparrow.

“Our sincere desire and fervent prayer is, that the same guardian providence may still attend you, and that in the future you may realize the fulfilment of the ancient prophecy, ‘When thou passest through the waters, I will be with thee; and through the rivers, they shall not overflow thee. When thou walkest through the fire, thou shalt not be burned, neither shall the flame kindle upon thee; for I am the Lord thy God, the Holy One of Israel, thy Saviour. Thou hast been honorable, and I have loved thee; therefore will I give men for thee, and people for thy life. Fear not, for I am with thee.’”

To this address Kossuth made a short, but very appropriate and characteristic reply, which was loudly cheered by the audience. He then delivered the following speech :

KOSSUTH'S SPEECH AT PLYMOUTH.

“GENTLEMEN : It is said that a poor little bird, having a grain of seed in his bill, was wafted by the current of the gale over the waves to a new part of the globe, a barren desert yet, lately risen from the hidden depth where the mysterious work of creation is still going on. The grain of seed fell from the bill of the bird, and out of that grain a new creation was born. An ocean of halm, the children of that solitary grain, undulates over the blooming prairie, bowing in adoration before nature's God ; and millions of flowers send the sacrifice of their fragrance up to the Almighty's throne.

“If I had to stand on the spot where that grain of seed fell from the beak of the bird, with the blooming prairie spreading before my eyes, boundless like eternity, I could not feel more awe than here, on this hallowed spot, the most striking evidence of the most wonderful operation of Divine Providence.

“Every object which meets my eye, the very echo of my steps, is fraught with the most wonderful tale which ever found its way to the heart of men.

“You all,—you are wont to stand on this spot ; you are wont to walk on this hallowed ground ; the ocean's breeze, which your ears catch, to you it is not fraught with woful sighs from a bleeding home ; and still I see the lustre of religious awe in your eyes, and I hear your hearts throb with uncommon emotion of pious sentiments. What, then, must I feel on this spot ? What must I hear in the voice of the breeze, where the spirits of departed Pilgrims melt their whispers with the sighs of my oppressed father-land ?

“I am not here, gentlemen, to retell the Pilgrim Fathers' tale ; I have to learn about it from your particulars, which historians neglect, but the people's heart by pious tradition likes to conserve. Neither am I here to tell how happy you are ; — that, you feel. Pointed by that sentiment which instinctively rises in the heart of happy good men at the view of foreign misfortune, you invited me to this sacred spot, desiring to pour in my sad heart the consoling inspiration flowing from this place, and to strengthen me in the trust to God. I thank you for it ; it does good to my heart. The very air which I here respire, though

to me sad, because fresh with the sorrows of Europe and with the woes of my native land, that very air is a balm to the bleeding wounds of my soul ; it relieves like as the tears relieve the oppressed heart. But this spot is a book of history. A book not written by man, but by the Almighty himself, — a leaf out of the records of destiny, sent to earth, and illumined by the light of heavenly intellect, that men and nations, reading in that book of life the bountiful intentions of the Almighty God, may learn the duties they are expected to fulfil, and cannot neglect to fulfil without offending those intentions with which the Almighty ruler of human destinies has worked the wonders of which Plymouth Rock is the cradle-place. I feel like Moses when he stood on Mount Nebo, in the mountains of Abareh, looking over the billows. I see afar the Canaan of mankind's liberty. I would the people of your great republic would look to Plymouth Rock as to a new Sinai, where the Almighty legislator revealed what he expects your nation to do and not do unto her neighbors, by revealing to her free America's destiny.

“ Who would have thought, gentlemen, that the modest vessel which two hundred and thirty-two years ago landed the handful of Pilgrims on Plymouth Rock was fraught with the palladium of liberty, and with the elements of a power destined to regenerate the world ?

“ Oppression drove them from their ancient European home to the wilderness of an unknown world ; the Mayflower developed into a wonderful tree of liberty. Where the wilderness stood, there now a mighty Christian nation stands, unequalled in general intelligence and in general prosperity, a glorious evidence of mankind's capacity to self-government ; and ye, happy sons of those Pilgrim Fathers, it became your glorious destiny to send back an enchanted twig from your tree of freedom to the Old World, thus requiting the oppression which drove away your forefathers from it. Is the time come for it ? Yes, it is. That which is a benefit to the world is a condition of your own security.

“ While the tree of freedom which the Pilgrims planted grew so high that one twig of it may revive a world, in Europe, by a strange contradiction, another tree has grown in the same time, — the tree of evil and of despotism. It is Russia. Both have grown so large that there is no place more for them both on earth. One must be lopped, that the other may still spread.

“ And while the tree of good here, and the tree of evil there, have thus grown, my nation, a handful of braves, a foreign race from far

Asia, transplanted to Europe a thousand years ago,—not kindred to you, not kindred to any European race, but guarding in its bosom, through all vicissitudes of time, a spark from that fire which led your Pilgrim Fathers to America's shores,—my nation stood in the very neighborhood of the tree of evil, a modest shrub, bearing up through centuries against the blasting winds encroaching upon the fields of Christianity and of Christian civilization. Beaten continually by these blasting winds, it could not grow; but it stood firmly in its place, and checked their course. It was the emblem of resistance.

“The wind has shifted. Russian despotism threatens the Christian world, and it is again the shrub of my nation which has to check the gale. O, dear shrub of my dear native land! thy leaves are yellow and thy branches are torn; but the roots still hold firm, and the stock of the people is sound, and the soil which nursed that shrub for a thousand years is still full of life. Undaunted courage, unfaltering resolution, undespending confidence, nurses the roots.

“Now, what is it I claim from you, people of America,—ye powerful swarm from the bee-hive Europe, ye sons of the Pilgrims,—those Christian Deucalions, who peopled this New World, and founded a nation in seeking but the asylum of a new home?

“What is it I claim from you, people of America? Is it that you should send over yonder Atlantic a fleet of new Mayflowers, manned with thousands of Miles Standishes? Claim I the sword of that brave chieftain, as the people of *Weymouth*, the Wessagusens of old, claimed it once from the Pilgrim Fathers,—that, as he once did for them, you may do for my people, brandishing its brave ‘Damascus blade’ against the Indians of despotism, more dangerous to mankind’s liberty — that common property of which you have the fairest share — than in those olden times the Indians of Cape Cod have been dangerous to the handful of Pilgrims, reduced by sickness to half their number, that they may multiply into millions? Is it that which I claim, in the name of mankind’s great family, of which you are a mighty, full-grown son? No, I claim not this.

“Do I claim from you to send over your sons to Hungary’s border mountains, to make a living fence by their breasts, catching up the blasting wind of Russia, that it may not fall upon the poor, leaf-torn shrub of Hungary? No, I claim not this.

“Or do I claim from you to beat back the bloody hand of the Austrian, that he may not waste the tempest-torn shrub, and not drain the life-sweat of its nursing soil?

“ No, I do not claim that.

“ What is it, then, I claim from America? That same violence which shattered Hungary’s bush has loosened, has bent, has nearly broken, the pole called *law of nations*; without which no right is safe, and no nation sure,—none, were it even ten times so mighty as yours. I claim from America that it should fasten and make firm that pole called ‘*law of nations*,’ that we may with the nerve-strings of our own stout hearts bind to it our nation’s shattered shrub.

“ That is what I claim. And I ask you, in the name of the Almighty, is it too pretentious, is it too much arrogance, to claim so much?

“ ‘In the law of nations every nation is just so much interested as every citizen in the laws of his country.’ That is a wise word; it is the word of Mr. Webster, who, I am sure of it, in the high position he holds, intrusted with your country’s foreign policy, would readily make good his own word, if only his sovereign, the nation, be decided to back it, and says to him ‘*Go on.*’

“ Well, that maintenance of the law of nations would be, indeed, an immense benefit to my country,—an immense benefit to all oppressed nations,—because there is scarcely one amongst them all (Russia, perhaps, excepted) which very easily could not get rid of its own domestic oppressor, if only the infernal bug-bear ‘interference’ stood not in the rear, ready to support every oppressor against the oppressed;—but, I ask, is it an arrogance to claim an international duty, when that duty would be a benefit to our poor selves?

“ To whom shall the oppressed turn for the protection of law and of right, if not to those who have the power to protect that law and that right, upon which their own power, their own existence, rests?

“ Turn to God, and trust to him, you say. Well, that we do. The Lord is our chief trust; but, precisely because we trust to God, we look around with confidence for the instrumentality of this protection.

“ And who shall be that instrumentality, if not you, people of America, for whom God has worked an evident wonder out, and upon this very place where I stand?

“ We may well praise the dignity of Carver and Bradford, the bravery of Standish, the devotion of Brewster, the enterprising spirit of Allerton, the unexampled fortitude and resignation of their women, the patience of their boys, the firmness, thoughtfulness, religious faith and confident boldness, of all the Pilgrims of the Mayflower; we may

well praise that all; no praise is too high and none undeserved; but, after all, we must confess that the wonderful results of their pilgrimage,—the nation which we see here,—that is not their merit, as it could never have been the anticipation of their thoughts. No, that is no human merit; that is an evident miracle,—the work of God.

“What have they been, those Pilgrims of those days? What was their resolution, their aim, their design? Let me answer in the eloquent words of Mr. Webster’s last centennial address: ‘They have been the personification of humble and peaceable religion flying from causeless oppression, conscience attempting to escape from arbitrary rule, braving a thousand dangers to find here — what? A place of refuge and of rest.’

“And what is it they have founded here? A mighty nation, of twenty-four millions, in the short period of two hundred and thirty-two years. Well, that has never entered the thoughts of the boldest of them.

“The revolution of 1775 was no miracle; it was a necessity, an indication of your people’s having come to the lawful age of a nation. Your assuming now the position of a power on earth, as I hope you will,—that will again be no miracle. It would be wisdom, but the wisdom of doing what is good to humanity and necessary to yourselves. But, the United States of America,—a result of the Pilgrim Fathers’ landing on Plymouth’s Rock,—that is no wisdom, no necessity; it is an evident miracle, a work of God.

“And believe me, gentlemen, the Almighty God never deviates from the common laws of eternity for particular purposes; he never makes a miracle but for the benefit of all the world. By that truth the destiny of America is appointed out, and every destiny implies a duty to fulfil.”

“Happy the people which has the wisdom of its destiny and the resolution of its duties resulting therefrom. But woe to the people which takes not the place which Providence does appoint to it. With the intentions of Providence, and with the decrees of the Almighty, no man can dare to play. Self-reliance is a manly virtue, and no nation has a future which has not that virtue; but to believe that seventy-five years of prodigious growth dispense of every danger and of every care,—that would be the surest way to provoke danger, and to have much to care.

“You will judge by this, gentlemen, if it was too much boldness on my part to believe that it is your country’s destiny to regenerate the

world by maintaining the laws of nations, or too much boldness to claim that which I believe is your destiny.

“One humble prayer more I have ; but that is addressed to your private generosity. When Weston’s company of Weymouth was threatened by Indians, the Pilgrim Colony of Plymouth supplied them with provisions, though they themselves could boast but of a very scanty store. Now the stores of your national prosperity are full of countless treasures, and of boundless wealth. I ask out of your abundance a poor alms to my poor country ; just so much as to buy with it a good rope, strong enough to fasten the shattered shrub of my country to the protecting pole of national law, and to buy a good battle-axe to beat off the hands of the tyrant from tearing to pieces the poor, shattered shrub.

“And here let me end. I am out-worn ; my mind has lost the freshness of ideas,—only the old sorrows and old cares will neither be tired out nor go asleep. That is bad inspiration to oratory ; but I will bear it, and go on in my duty, and hope good success ; and will end with the words of that eloquent orator, who interpreted your people’s wishes and sentiments at the second centennial anniversary of the day when the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth : ‘May the star-spangled banner rise up as high as heaven, till it shall fan the air of both continents, and wave as a glorious ensign of peace and security to all nations.’”

At the conclusion of this speech, the procession formed again, and proceeded to the Samoset House, where a banquet had been prepared for Kossuth and his companions, and many invited guests.

After justice had been done to the viands, Captain Russell, the president of the day, addressed the guests as follows :

“It has so happened, gentlemen, that our townsmen, — a little singular, perhaps, in their taste, — instead of selecting a gentleman from the learned professions as chairman of their committee, have chosen to present you with a very indifferent specimen of the ancient mariner, as he was in the last century. You may justly infer, from the position which I hold to-day, that our class has quite as much boldness as judgment.

“It is our custom, gentlemen, when sailing on unfamiliar seas, to consult with great care our charts and navigation-books. But it is vain to appeal to them now ; they cannot help me to latitude or longi-

tude ; their sines and cösines, their angles and triangles, are all useless here ; but I see around me many experienced pilots and kind friends, whose faces promise aid and indulgence.

“ Gentlemen, for the present I will merely glance at a subject which deeply interests us all. A few years since, the country of our illustrious guest was but little known to most of us. When she struck for freedom, we all felt that the blow was for mankind. Millions of hearts in our Union beat with instinctive sympathy in such a cause. We all know why that heroic people failed ; and we know, too, that if our own country had been as near them geographically as we are in principles and feelings, there would have been more than one intervention ere the struggle had so unfortunately closed.”

M. Bates, Jr., was then introduced by the president as toast-master for the occasion, and announced the first regular toast :

“ The President of the United States.”

In the absence of a distinguished citizen who was expected to be present, there was no response to this national sentiment.

The following was then announced as the second regular toast :

“ Massachusetts : When a dependent colony, with a governor assigned to her by the mother country, she was the first to resist an aggression upon her own rights ; as one of a glorious confederacy of independent states, with a governor elected by the people, may she be the last to deny the rights of Hungary.”

His Excellency George S. Boutwell, Governor of the Commonwealth, was introduced by the president, and was enthusiastically received by the company. He responded to the sentiment in a short speech, urging the duty of expressing an opinion on the question of Hungarian freedom. The company manifested their hearty approbation of the governor's views.

The following was then announced as the third regular toast :

“ Governor Louis Kossuth : The children of Pilgrim-exiles greet him as an exile for liberty ; may the God who guided the Mayflower to our shores guide his country to independence.”

Governor Kossuth responded to this sentiment, thanking the citizens of Plymouth for the opportunity which had been afforded him to visit

this spot, consecrated to liberty by the landing of the Pilgrims on our shores, and alluded to the parallel between his country and our own in a very feeling and impressive manner.

The president then announced the fourth regular toast :

“ Daniel Webster : His letter to Hulseman conveyed material aid to Hungary ; — ‘ one blast upon his bugle-horn was worth a thousand men.’ ”

Mr. Webster was still suffering from the effects of injuries received by being thrown from his carriage, not long before, and was consequently unable to attend the banquet. In reply to the invitation of the committee of arrangements, he sent a long letter, which was read as a response to this toast. Here is the correspondence :

Plymouth, Mass., May 10th, 1852.

HON. DANIEL WEBSTER, Marshfield, Mass.

DEAR SIR : The undersigned have been appointed a committee, in behalf of the citizens of Plymouth, to invite you to visit our town on Wednesday the 12th inst., on which occasion Governor Kossuth is expected to visit Plymouth, to view a spot so closely identified with the establishment of political and religious freedom as “ Plymouth Rock.”

Should you have sufficiently recovered from the accident which we regret to learn has recently occurred to you in our vicinity, we hope to enjoy a visit from you on the occasion referred to, trusting that while the descendants of the Pilgrims extend the hand of welcome to an exile zealously devoted to perpetuating the principle of liberty in his own beloved Hungary, they may also be afforded the pleasure of paying a tribute of respect to one of our own distinguished statesmen, who has devoted so large a portion of his life to the service of his country.

With sentiments of the highest regard, and our best wishes for your future health, prosperity and happiness,

We have the honor to be, most respectfully,

Your friends and fellow-citizens,

JOHN RUSSELL,
A. L. RUSSELL,
E. C. SHERMAN,
M. BATES, Jr.

Marshfield, May 10, 1852.

GENTLEMEN : I had the honor to receive, this morning, your very respectful and kind invitation, in behalf of the citizens of Plymouth, to meet them on Wednesday, on the occasion of the visit of Governor Kossuth to your ancient and distinguished town. I regret to say that the accident to which you refer, though not likely to be attended by permanent evil consequences, was yet such as will necessarily oblige me to remain at home for some days to come.

Your guest is an exile, who has fled from his native land in consequence of the results of political struggles. As such, he has been received in this country by the constituted authorities of the general government, and many of the state governments, as well as by large masses of the people, in those parts of the country which he has visited. It is no doubt true, as you suggest, that he must feel strong emotions while standing on the spot where our Pilgrim Fathers landed. They, too, were exiles, having left their homes and all that was dear to them, in their native land, that they might enjoy, on an unknown shore, and in the midst of a savage wilderness, the blessings of religious liberty, and mild and free institutions of civil government. The landing itself, connected with its object, and the circumstances accompanying it, will not fail to excite his sympathies and sensibilities ; and the results which have flowed from it, in the course of the two hundred and thirty years which have since gone by, will be sure to engage his regard and admiration ; and his mind, ardent and enthusiastic as it is, may yet well stagger under his view of the future, if he shall allow his thoughts to wing their flight into the midst of ages and ages yet to come.

Nothing human can be absolutely certain of long continuance ; but if we, and those who shall come after us, from generation to generation, shall maintain the leading principles upon which our institutions are founded, and according to which the government has been administered from our earliest days, we may hope for as much prosperity of our political blessings as may fall to the lot of man. The first of these main principles undoubtedly is, the maintenance of public liberty and equal rights, and entire liberty of religious opinions, under a well-defined constitution of civil government. And, as essential to the maintenance of such government, under the circumstances in which the constitution of the United States was formed, and which still exist, there must be an abiding and unwavering attachment to the Union of the States, accompanied always by a cautious and conscientious regard for all the rights reserved and secured to those states by

the constitution itself. Providence has placed this country in a political condition in which both liberty and union are absolutely necessary for its happiness, and in which it is difficult to imagine how either could subsist alone. A distinguished personage of antiquity said that the world could not bear two suns; but in our political hemisphere it appears to me that clouds and darkness would settle upon us the moment we should cease to enjoy the united light of the two mild, beneficent, brilliant and glorious orbs, of Liberty and Union.

Another great principle upon which our system is founded, and which has characterized the administration of the government from the beginning, is the absolute equality of nations. We hold to this as an elementary doctrine; and, while we exercise our own independent choice in respect to forms of government, we concede the same right of choice to other organized political communities. Whether nations be larger or smaller, if in fact they be nations, if they be of the civilized political communities of the earth, then are their rights equal, and their title to respect from each other equal. Each governs itself, and has just authority so to do. One star exceeds another star in glory; but they are still all stars, moving each in its proper orbit, and all held together by the great attractive power of the universe. But all this by no means implies that we feel no interest or concern in questions which respect the forms of government in other states. We are attached to free popular representative governments, established over intelligent communities, as most productive of human happiness; and the great duty we owe the world is, to show that these convictions are well founded, and to prove by our example, in an age of progress and rapidly increasing light and knowledge, that the masses of the people, if religious, moral and well educated, may be safely trusted with self-government.

You are pleased, gentlemen, to speak of me as of one who has rendered some service to the country. It is true that in that service a great portion of my life has been spent; and efforts have been made by me, from time to time,— never, I trust, without patriotic purpose, never without labor and care, and sometimes not without the most overwhelming anxiety. If I have accomplished anything for maintaining the institutions of the country, civil and religious, I rejoice at it; and you may be assured, gentlemen, that so far as any man may rely for consistency on his own settled opinions and most determined purposes, what I have been, and what I am, I shall continue to be to the end.

Again I thank you for your invitation, and pray you to assure my

neighbors, the citizens of Plymouth, that their pleasure in seeing me could not surpass that which I should feel in being among them, on any occasion which is to call them together, and likely to afford them gratification.

Your obliged fellow-citizen
and humble servant,

DANIEL WEBSTER.

To JOHN RUSSELL, Esq., A. L. RUSSELL, Esq., E. A. SHERMAN, Esq.,
M. BATES, Jr., Esq., *Plymouth, Mass.*

The fifth regular toast was :

“ Cape Cod, ‘the Right Arm of Massachusetts :’ In the hollow of her hand she held our Pilgrim Fathers, till a compact of freedom could be framed, to be reared on ‘Plymouth Rock.’ ”

To this sentiment Hon. A. Alden, a member of the Senate from Worcester county, who was born on Cape Cod, responded in some well-timed and appropriate remarks.

The following sentiment was then read :

“ The Loyal Spirit of the Hungarian Revolution : It was liberty protected by law, and not liberty in violation of law, for which the Hungarian lawyers strove.”

To this toast Stephen H. Phillips, of Salem, the district attorney for the eastern district, responded in a strain of eloquent remark, to prove what is often overlooked, but is nevertheless true, that Kossuth and his comrades were acting in pursuance of legal enactments, in their struggles for Hungarian freedom.

The president then read the sixth regular toast :

“ Hungary, the Ancient Bulwark of Christendom : Europe owes her a heavy debt, and should pay it promptly.”

M. Pulszky, Governor Kossuth’s secretary, responded to this toast in a few appropriate remarks.

“ The Press : The general spread of intelligence is the best security for freedom.”

Mr. Coggs shall, the reporter for the New York Tribune, responded, and demonstrated that a free press is the surest safeguard of American liberty.

Count Koscielski, a Polish exile, was introduced to the company by the president ; and, in reply to a sentiment in honor of Poland, addressed some remarks to Governor Kossuth, instituting to some extent a comparison between their respective nations, to which Gov-

ernor Kossuth responded, predicting that the day would yet come when, in the providence of God, both nations would be free.

At seven P. M., the time of departure for the cars, Kossuth and his companions left Plymouth for Boston. The train which conveyed them carried also upwards of six hundred persons; a portion of the great multitude which, notwithstanding the pelting rain during the whole day, had thronged the streets of Plymouth to a degree never before witnessed there.

KOSSUTH AT FALL RIVER.

ON Thursday, May 13, Kossuth visited Fall River, in compliance with the invitation of the citizens of that place.

At half-past eleven o'clock, A. M., attended by Hon. Anson Burlingame, General Ward, and Mr. Holman, of the State Committee, Hon. P. W. Leland and H. N. Gunn, of the Fall River committee, and several members of the Legislature, the Magyar and his suite started in a special train from the Old Colony Railroad station. The car in which they rode was beautifully decorated with flags.

At one o'clock the train arrived at Fall River, in the midst of a heavy rain, and was met outside the town by an enthusiasm among the people which no floods could drown. There having been some uncertainty about the coming of Kossuth, in default of the telegraph and the weather, the citizens were prevented from carrying out their plan of a procession, but were not taken off their guard. A moment's notice brought an enthusiastic crowd to the depot, in the midst of a pitiless storm, and a throng of people surrounded the carriages all the way up the hill to the Mount Hope House.

The main street was gayly decorated with flags, and over it, opposite the Town Hall, hung a "WELCOME TO KOSSUTH," in large capitals. Here and at the Mount Hope House, where he alighted, Kossuth was cheered by dense crowds in the street, who filled every window, high and low. Had it been a pleasant day, the people might have been more gayly dressed; but they could hardly have been more numerous or enthusiastic. While passing from the depot to the hotel, Kossuth was saluted with a discharge of artillery and the ringing of bells. Besides a fine company of artillery, there were two engine-companies out, with full uniform, and bands. Probably in no place has the Hungarian governor been greeted with a warmer welcome, and that, too, in spite of the utmost inclemency of the elements. Had the weather been favorable, there would undoubtedly have been a larger assemblage than has taken place in New England out of Boston.

At the Mount Hope House, numerous ladies and gentlemen of Fall River, and other places, were introduced to Kossuth. Among the num-

ber was Hon. Rodney French, of New Bedford, who, in behalf of his fellow-citizens, invited the Magyar to visit that city.

A committee of gentlemen from Pawtucket, Rhode Island, presented "material aid" to the amount of two hundred dollars. This committee consisted of Joseph T. Sisson, Andrew Potter, Charles A. Leonard, Robert Sherman, C. F. Manchester, John Daley, George D. Street, Charles F. Sanders, G. L. Spencer, William Jeffres, Erving Reed, S. R. Bucklin, Samuel Shove, Edwin Jerauld, John B. Reed. In presenting the money, Mr. Sisson, the chairman, said :

MR. SISSON'S SPEECH.

"GOVERNOR KOSSUTH : I am commissioned by a committee of the Rhode Island Engine Company, in connection with the citizens of Pawtucket, to tender to you a small offering as a testimonial of their respect for you, for the fearless and high-minded course which you have pursued in relation to the cause of liberty in your own country, and of their cordial and heart-felt sympathy for your oppressed and suffering countrymen. They offer it not for its intrinsic value as furnishing material aid, but as an earnest of their hearty God speed for the success of your mission. It comes from men who have not examined, and do not care to examine, with diplomatic nicety, the question of national policy involved in the doctrine you advocate. It is enough for their present purpose to know,—enough for true men everywhere to know,—that a comparatively weak people are borne down by the strong arm of despotic power, that a brave people are struggling manfully for the cause of freedom. If it shall in any degree assist in hastening the time when your nation shall take her stand among the nations of the earth, a united, prosperous and free people, they will feel that they have thereby reaped a rich reward for the trifling exertion they have made. Accept it, sir, and with it our prayers for your personal success and prosperity, and for the speedy emancipation of your country from despotic power."

Kossuth replied briefly, saying it was always gratifying to him to receive such material evidences of sympathy, especially when bestowed by the people. What the people's heart feels to be right, is right. He felt highly honored that Pawtucket had rendered a verdict in favor of Hungary. The chairman was pleased to remark that the present was not the time for discussion, but rather for action. If, when the regulars

of 1775 went out from Boston to Lexington, the people had stopped to discuss the expediency of striking for liberty, the United States might now be under the rule of England. But such was not the case. Courageous hearts, iron wills and prompt action, produced results such as the world never beheld before.

The reception at Fall River was under the conduct of Hon. Foster Hooper, Hon. N. B. Borden, Dr. P. W. Leland, Richard Borden, David Perkins, and H. N. Gunn, Esqs., as committee of arrangements, and Chester W. Greene, Esq., as chief marshal.

After resting, or rather remaining, at the hotel till half-past two, Kossuth was conducted to the Town Hall. This is one of the finest and most spacious edifices in the state, built of granite, and of excellent proportions. The inside measurement is eighty-eight feet by seventy-one, nearly one-fourth larger than the area of Faneuil Hall, with a gallery sixteen feet wide across one end. The seats nearest the platform were occupied by bond-holders, to the number of several hundred. After the arrival of Kossuth, the unoccupied space was immediately filled, and the immense hall presented a dense living mass, inspired with a unanimous spirit of welcome.

Hon. Foster Hooper arose and addressed Kossuth as follows :

DR. HOOPER'S SPEECH.

“GOVERNOR KOSSUTH : No words of mine are necessary to inform you that you are welcome in Fall River. The assembling of the thousands whom you have seen surrounding you here to-day has already proclaimed it. The salvos of artillery and the shouts of the people have made it known to you.

“You are welcome here, sir, upon this western border of the land of the Pilgrims, because you have shown yourself so able and so true an advocate of the principles of the Pilgrims,— of republicanism, and of political and religious freedom ; because you have shown yourself to be so noble a reformer, in your efforts to reform and improve the condition of your own people ; not limiting your exertions to secure for your nation its time-hallowed rights of nationality, but devoting yourself to the reforming of its internal institutions, by moulding them into republican forms, so as to confer equality of rights upon all.

“For these characteristics we honor you ; and by honoring you, sir, we honor the cause in which you have been engaged.

“We have watched your course, and found you ever pursuing the

true and the right, and under difficulties seldom encountered by man; and our hearts have warmed into admiration, till we have desired to see you, to take you by the hand, and to do something, however little it may be, to aid in sustaining the upraised hands of such a prophet of freedom, while he wages uncompromising war with tyranny and despotism.

“The struggle in which you have been engaged has often reminded us of that of our forefathers, in their war for independence. There is, in fact, a striking analogy in the history of the two nations. Both were of foreign origin, and conquered the countries they respectively call their own. Both formed their own institutions, and both were contending for their preservation against a foreign power which had no right to interfere with them.

“So far the analogy holds good. Our fathers obtained aid from foreign intervention, and were successful. In the case of Hungary, the intervention was on the other side, and she was unsuccessful. The cause of both was equally just and right. And although Hungary did not obtain success, she did more, for she deserved it.

“But there is a further analogy. Both had their traitors, and their great and good men.

“The difference in the success of the traitors of the two countries produced all the difference of the result. Gorgey sold his country, and riots in wealth. Arnold failed in selling his, and lived and died in obscurity. And the fortunes of the great and good men of the two countries have corresponded to the results of the traitors' movements. Gorgey succeeded, and the noble Kossuth, the Washington of Hungary, is an exile from the land of his fathers. Arnold failed, and Washington became the father of his country, and the honored and beloved name of the world, the symbol of all that is wise, honest, great and good.

“But, sir, there are some analogies in the histories of these two leading characters, to but one or two of which I will allude, and pray that another may be added in the final result of the labors of both,—the independence and happiness of their respective countries. Both possessed in an eminent degree the entire confidence and affection of the great mass of their countrymen.

“Washington was surrounded and aided by wise and able men. Such, sir, must have been your fortune, or you could not have achieved what you did. Superior, as you undoubtedly are, to him in oratory and the power of acting upon and directing the minds and the passions

of men, yet you must have had coöperators who would be an honor to any country or any age. On this fact rests our future hope for Hungary; for we judge of the bulk by the sample.

“Another analogy in the two leading characters is, that they have both been reviled and traduced. Indeed, who has not, that was ever of sufficient importance to be in the way of a bad man?”

“Washington was traduced and conspired against, at one time, with a view to drive him from the command of the armies of his country.

“Such has ever been the portion of great and good men. Aristides was banished by his own countrymen, because they were tired of hearing him called the just. And the great, good and philosophic Socrates was condemned to drink the poison hemlock, because he could not conform his notions to those of the populace, or rather to those of the artful priests who hoodwinked and controlled them.

“Even the Saviour of men, with all his perfections, could not be permitted to escape, but was pursued even unto death.

“Yours, sir, in this regard, is only the common fate of the great and good. Calumny ever clings to them, like the mistletoe to the oak, making it all the more conspicuous, without injuring its strength or bowing its limbs.

“That you should have escaped, would have proved, either that you were not of sufficient importance to be pursued by the despots of Europe, whom you had so frightened, or that you had proved derelict to duty, and an apostate to your cause.

“That they do not regard you with indifference is shown by their efforts to induce the Sultan of Turkey to give you up. Hence the calumnies with which they pursue you will be regarded by your friends,—and they are not few,—as was said by another, ‘only as the hootings of your enemies, proving that you are at your post of duty.’

“That these calumnies should have preceded you to this country, is no more than should have been expected. But that learned professors and *enterprising editors* should have made the profound discoveries that the Emperor of Austria had become all at once the friend of freedom and free institutions, and was determined to force them upon his unwilling subjects even at the point of the bayonet, but, being defeated and unable to accomplish his benevolent designs, he had called in to his aid his loving brother, the Czar of Russia,—he also having turned a propagandist of free institutions,—with the determination of putting down slavery and oppression; while, on the other hand, Hungary, led on by yourself, sir, was resisting and opposing all these benevolent

efforts, was fighting for slavery and the long-established immunities of caste, which were operating a most grinding oppression upon all but a minority of about five millions of Magyars, who were the privileged caste, and who not only oppressed ten millions of other races, but contended successfully with Austria; — I say, sir, that learned professors and enterprising editors should have made such discoveries might well be a marvel; and that they should gravely attempt to palm them off as truth upon the American public proves either their own verdancy and gullibility, or the estimate they put upon the capacity and credulity of that public.

“The professor has been laid out cold by the public opinion which he dared to insult with such trash in Massachusetts. And the editor in New York, years ago, found that honorable men would sooner sacrifice their lives than stoop to the degradation of acknowledging him to be a gentleman. Such may well be the tools of despotism. In an intelligent community they can do but little harm. Your reception, sir, in New York and Massachusetts, is a just comment upon their influence.

“Your visit to this country, sir, has laid the American nation under great obligation to you. This may be a startling proposition to many. But it was time, sir, that this nation should be roused to a sense of its true position. Seventy-five years of nearly uninterrupted peace and prosperity had begun to cool the love of republicanism in many bosoms, causing them to lose sight of the true principles of liberty.

“The almighty dollar was engrossing too exclusively the energies of the people in its pursuit; and with many, it is feared, was nearly the only object of their worship. But little was thought of the relations of the New World to the Old, or of this republic to the other nations of the globe, beyond what grew out of the interests of trade.

“The republic has been a propagandist of its principles; but it has stood, like the monument on Bunker Hill, speaking but a silent language, feeling perfectly secure in its position.

“Despotisms are always propagandists of their system,—always ready to countenance, sanction, and aid by force, any overturn of a free or constitutional government, by a brother-despot. Such has been their history in all ages; and the more recent examples in Europe, in the cases of Hungary, Rome and France, are no exceptions to the general rule. They are true to their system. The United States, on the one hand, have been more cautious and timid, not even requiring their officers abroad to maintain, as they might, a stern and uncompromising

republicanism, but have taken all possible pains to impress the despots of Europe with the idea that America will take no exceptions to their conduct, treat the nations of the Old World as they may, if they will only keep on the other side of the Atlantic.

“This may have been, and doubtless was, a very wise policy, in the infancy of the republic. But how does it become its manhood? The boy might witness the strong robber despoil the weaker traveller, without his interfering, and incur neither criminality nor dishonor; but what would be said of the man who should do it? Would he not be branded as both criminal and cowardly? But, suppose the traveller should get the better of the contest, and beat down the robber; and then a much stronger robber should advance to the assistance of his fallen confrère, and the man should still stand looking on, merely remarking, ‘It is nothing to me, so long as they do not come on my side of the road,’—what then would be said of him?

“Would his conduct illustrate either sound morality or political foresight? Will the robbers not come over on his side of the road? Most assuredly they will, and when he has no one to assist him; for his companion has fallen, and the time gone by when the two together might have overthrown the first robber, and been ready, with united strength, to have set upon the second one, if he dared to show himself, which he would not have done, had he known that he had the two to meet.

“Nations are but individuals multiplied into themselves, and what is true of the individual is true of the nation.

“I say, sir, this nation is under obligations to you for turning its attention to its own relative position, and its duties growing out of that position.

“I regard it, sir, as a kind of special providence, that you were permitted to escape to these shores after the downfall of the cause of freedom in Hungary. And it may be that, through your instrumentality, under God, the liberties of these United States may be preserved, and the cause of freedom and constitutional government here not only rendered sure and permanent, but be carried back and made to triumph in the Old World.

“Such may,—nay, such must be the result, should all the friends of freedom and humanity, in both hemispheres, combine their efforts to that end. In that event, the horizontal line sometimes talked of, that is to be drawn through society, would be drawn just above tyrants’

shoulders. May it soon be your happiness, sir, to see it so drawn, and your own Hungary free and independent ! ”

Dr. Hooper, having concluded his address, introduced Kossuth to the assembly, saying that he was extremely ill, and must be excused from a very long address, on that account, and because he had to take the cars at four o'clock for Boston.

The Hungarian governor was received with cheering long and loud, closing with three cheers for intervention. Kossuth then spoke extemporaneously substantially as follows :

KOSSUTH'S SPEECH AT FALL RIVER.

“ It is well done, ladies and gentlemen, to consider well that huzza, if the word intervention, which the gentlemen suggested to the public opinion of the present assembly, should be responded to. Intervention has — gentlemen, I don't exactly know the word ; you understand me — it is sharp on both sides. [A voice from the crowd, ‘Two-edged.’] Yes, it has two edges, and it is better to keep off.

“ I do not know how you can represent me to be eloquent. I never study to be eloquent ; I never had eloquence, but truth, principle and honesty, — simple, because true ; — no other but sincere feelings, which find their way to the heart, because they come from the heart, and meet the approbation of good men, like as the mild whispers of the limpid fountain reach the heart of nature's simple son. But to-day I have not even that eloquence. I have had no time for reflection. By my many cares and labors, with sleepless nights, my soul has shaken this frame as the captive lion shakes the iron bars of his cage. Nature claims her rights, gentlemen. I am sick. Excuse me if I fall short of your expectations. But for what purpose is eloquence here ? Have I not your sanction to my principles ?

“ The first resolutions I met from Massachusetts, giving me encouragement, were passed here. Even now you are going on to manifest the sympathy of generous men. I have no need to impress your minds. The very words you have spoken, sir, — that was my speech. You have anticipated me. Your words are *to* me, not only, but *for* me. [Applause.] Those were my wishes. Those were the dangers I humbly point out. Only you have done it as a citizen, while I stand as a petitioner. To you, ladies and gentlemen, I need only give thanks. And thanks are better told by the warm grasp of the hand

and the short word, God bless you, than by any skilful oratory. [Applause.]

“You have encouraged me, sir, not to feel offended at calumny. Well, I take it not only as a necessity of my position, but I am glad of it. If I were not opposed, I should think myself not worthy. Their opposition proves that they fear me; and I promise to do all I can to be still more feared, all my life, by tyrants and despots. I am not misled by these calumnies. What is their effect? Here and there only a word has been spoken. It is answered by the sympathy of the people all over the United States. Within a few days I have received a very curious letter,—I could give the name, but the writer calls himself a travelled American,—which letter tells me that I am doing a great mischief, even here, to advocate the necessity of a republic in Europe; for many gentlemen, even out of those who have addressed me, have not a love for their own republic, but would like to see her a constitutional monarchy, which this gentleman says is the happiest form of government in the world. Now, this is somewhat surprising, gentlemen; but, out of twenty-five millions, one man having much travelled among despots to have such principles, there is not much danger. Yet, if such principles spread, there may be some danger; and therefore here is one motive more for Americans to help us purify the air of old Europe, that it may not make such impressions on and corrupt travelled Americans. [Laughter.]

“You have been pleased to refer to Washington, and to couple my name with his. I do not aspire to that high honor. But I may look up to that star alone on mankind’s sky for inspiration, and one thing promise, to equal him in love of country and honest devotion. But the parallel you have drawn, sir, between my country and yours, shows how much depends on success. I have not succeeded, it is true; but I have been received in America, an exile, as no successful conqueror has ever been received, which shows that a change has come over the world.

“Out-worn though I be, I wish to leave in such an assembly a good impression, and I will attend to just two points of objection.

“1. That the people of Europe are not prepared for liberty, and

“2. That there is now no chance for any change in Europe in favor of liberty.

“1. As to the first point,—why, gentlemen, when, two hundred years ago, your fathers landed here, they found the Indians, under King Philip and Massasoit, capable to govern themselves. To say that

any man is not capable to govern himself, is to say he is born to be oppressed. And where is man born to be oppressed? It is contrary to nature. Not even the worm has this lot, for it resists oppression. Men are born to be free. Freedom is the best schoolmaster to teach men how to be free.

“The people of this country are, to a great extent, Europeans, not differing from those who remain in Europe; and they are good republicans. Well, they either brought their capability for freedom with them, or they have acquired it here. In either case, it shows that, if you give them freedom, they will either know how to use it, or they will be able to learn how. [Applause.] But the people in Europe are not free. There is a reason for that. No plant can grow with a millstone on it. Take off the stone, and it will grow. All men are created to be free.

“2. The second objection is, that there is no chance for revolution in Europe now. Hungary is overthrown, and under the feet of despotic power. What chance has she to rise,—or to succeed, if she does rise? To all this I reply that there is not now in Europe a single nation which has not ten times the chance that your forefathers had, when they threw off the yoke of Britain, to gain liberty by a revolution. Yet the generous people of 1775 did not count the dangers, but resolved to have their rights at any cost. God sent foreign help to aid your brave hearts, and you are free. Poor Hungary has a hope, even in the extremity of her necessity. Whenever the condition of a nation becomes so insupportable that it has nothing to lose by an effort to regain its liberty, then it will make the trial. This is precisely our case in Hungary; and we will try. There is no class contented in Hungary. It is different in France. There, for example, the bankers are contented; they make money under the government, as it is; and they, at least, desire no change. And so it may be of some other classes; but not so in Hungary. In that country, the ancient nobility even is not contented with the present condition; for they, too, are oppressed. Hungary has already won her social freedom; she has abolished her aristocracy, and so abolished it as not to offend the aristocratic class, but attach them to the common cause. In former times, a Hungarian farmer, who had forty-five acres of land in his farm, was obliged by law to pay one-ninth of the crops, and one hundred and two days' labor in the year, to the landlord, besides paying all the taxes. He was a free man, and not a serf. He might move away, if he liked; but, if he occupied the farm, he must pay this labor, one-ninth of the crops and

the taxes. This was the property of the landlord, by the law. This power and property the landlord gave up; and the farmer became the proprietor of the land, and all his labor on it his own. These legal rights the nobility did not give up for nothing; but to them an indemnification was voted of fifteen millions of dollars, which they will not receive till Hungary is free. Austria can never pay it. She is always on the verge of bankruptcy, reposing only on bayonets, which she has hard work to support from year to year.

“Then the paper-money of Hungary is in favor of a revolution. Of this, some thirty-five millions of dollars was issued, of which fifteen millions of dollars is in the hands of the people, worth nothing now, but of value if Hungary becomes free. There are also religious reasons. Our principle left any church free to manage its own concerns. The Protestants had their faith and worship. The Catholics had a right to enjoy their large property under the republic. But Austria takes their convents, because she wants money. Therefore the Roman Catholics, save the Jesuitical order, do not like Austria. Hungary has always been attached to religious freedom, and has made two revolutions for it.

“The taxes of Hungary used to be but four millions five hundred thousand dollars; now they are sixty-five millions of dollars, and collected in the most vexatious manner possible. If Hungary is free, no such taxes are needed, because municipal government is cheap, and we will have no centralization and no standing army. We have learned that a standing army is not needed to maintain the liberty of the people, but only arms in the hands of the people themselves.

“I here have taken the lowest motives; and, supposing my countrymen to be only selfish men, and to have no high love of principle, there must be a revolution; and they are not a little handful, but fifteen millions of men.

“Hungary wants nothing at this moment but *me* and one hundred thousand arms. I say not this in a boastful spirit. There are a hundred other men who can do all I can do. But it is a fact, however accounted for, that I have the confidence of the people. And this is a great point, not gained in a day. It takes a life to gain the confidence of a people, and the people must have confidence in somebody, to gain their freedom.

“Therefore I maintain my position in behalf of my country, and will not betray their confidence.”

Kossuth closed with a reference to the principles on which the Pilgrims of New England founded their colonies, and on which alone these states can flourish; but no report was published of this portion of his speech. He returned to Boston, by special train, at nine o'clock.

KOSSUTH'S LAST SPEECH IN FANEUIL HALL.

ON Friday evening, May 14, Kossuth appeared for the last time in Faneuil Hall. He made a speech of two hours' length, on the condition of Europe. The hall was filled at an early hour with the purchasers of Hungarian bonds, who were admitted by ticket, with much less inconvenience than that experienced on the former occasion, though the space inside was densely filled. The galleries were chiefly occupied by ladies, as was also much of the space beneath the galleries. Previous to the organization of the meeting, at the call of the audience, several short speeches were made. Among others who addressed the meeting, were Hon. Myron Lawrence of the Senate, Rev. Father Taylor, Rev. John Pierpont, William A. White, Esq., Dr. Kittredge, and the Rev. Mr. Slicer, late chaplain of the United States Senate, who spoke very warmly in favor of Kossuth and intervention. Mr. Pierpont's remarks, partly in prose and partly in verse, were these :

“ My opinion is, that we owe it to our position, as a free nation, to favor the cause of freedom in all other nations ; and this at every hazard. Even war, bad as it is, is not the greatest of national evils. Better, far better, meet the perils of war, in establishing liberty in other lands, than spend an inglorious peace, however prosperous, in propping up slavery in our own. In settling ‘ the balance of power ’ among the nations of the earth, the weight of this nation *must* be taken into the account. It must be felt for or against the cause of civil liberty. We cannot be neutral, if we would, as to the *moral* influence that, whether we will or not, we *must* exert.

“ Then let our might be thrown
Into the scale where bleeding Freedom lies,
Beneath imperial despots' gloating eyes.
Let our voice thunder in the tyrant's ear :
Ours is a voice that tyrants hate to hear !
If Austria's double-headed Eagle stoops
Upon the self-devoted Magyar troops,
And the great Bear comes growling through his snows
To help that Eagle rend his struggling foes,
Let the stern voice of *all* free nations swell
Above the voice of ocean's waves, and tell

That Bear and Eagle both, that if they dare
 Make common cause, — the Eagle and the Bear,
 Girt though by myriad myrmidons they be,
 Shall stand the common foe of all the free, —
 Let come what may come, even of war the tug :
 Scream for scream, growl for growl, and hug for hug.
 Till the round world shall see if despots' thrones,
 With blood cemented, and built up of bones,
 Will stand as firm through that stern strife as stands
 The chair of state upheld by freemen's willing hands.

On the arrival of Kossuth, at a few minutes past eight o'clock, Gen. Wilson called the meeting to order, and the following officers were elected :

President — Hon. Nathaniel P. Banks, Jr.

Vice-presidents — Hon. Charles Theodore Russell, of Boston ; Hon. J. S. C. Knowlton, of Worcester ; Hon. Caleb W. Prouty, of Scituate ; Hon. Calvin Torrey, of Palmer ; Dr. Samuel G. Howe, of Boston, and Samuel Hooper, of Boston.

Secretaries — William S. Robinson, of Lowell ; Alfred T. Turner, of Boston ; Elizur Wright, of Boston ; Francis H. Underwood, of Webster.

The president, Mr. Banks, with appropriate remarks, introduced Kossuth, who rose and delivered the following speech :

KOSSUTH'S SPEECH ON THE CONDITION OF EUROPE.

“GENTLEMEN : Some generous friends, to whom my heart is bound with ties of everlasting gratitude, for their kindness, support and protection,—men distinguished also by the affection and confidence of their fellow-citizens,—have intimated to me that before I leave Boston and Massachusetts,—those bright stars of consolation in the gloomy night of the poor wandering exile,—I am desired to give some explanation, in Faneuil Hall, about the present condition of Europe, and the character of our days.

“Though out-worn by daily exertion, and deprived of time to be prepared as such a distinguished assembly has a right to claim, still I do not hesitate thankfully to accept the invitation ; the more, because, amidst the most generous manifestations of sympathy, I could not fail to see that there exists a doubt about the probability of a new struggle for liberty in Europe being very nigh, and a despondency about the

chances of its success. Hence the impression that, there being no field for our activity now, there is no occasion for either material or political aid from America; and therefore, though there exists an almost universal interest in our success, and a lively desire to countenance our exertions, still the active and operative aid may be well delayed to that moment when the probabilities of a new struggle become evident, by seeing it anew engaged, and the banner of revolution once more unfurled on the eastern continent.

“There is scarcely anything more noxious to the cause which I plead; there is, indeed, nothing more torturing to my own mind. I see, as clearly as I see you, that the die is not *about* to be cast, but is already cast. I see the war between freedom and oppression not *about* to be engaged, but really engaged. I see Europe just in that condition in which two inexorable armies are, both marching already to meet. I see that the shock of their meeting can neither be avoided nor delayed. It must come. [Applause.] I see all this, not because I wish it, but because I know it. I see it, because I myself have taken, and still take, a considerable part in the arrangements of the march. I see it, because I know what are the elements of the struggle, and what is the organization of these elements. I know what are the forces we can dispose of with certainty,—with certainty, weighed not by visionary imagination, but with that calm arithmetical calculation with which the chief of an army looks to the register of his regiments before he offers or accepts a battle.

“I see all this with the lively feeling of that responsibility which a man must feel before letting loose the fury of war. You can, therefore, imagine how torturing it must be to my mind, to know that such a declaration from the United States as the resolutions of Massachusetts, and such material aid as would enable me to provide for those necessities which cannot be provided for without financial means, would insure the triumph of liberty;—to know that the additional benefit of a good vessel, and of one hundred thousand arms, would control the issue of the question which principle shall rule the world, and to see that additional benefit not denied out of want of sympathy, but delayed out of want of faith,—delayed when it is just to-day that it would be an anchor of security, whereas every day’s delay makes it either superfluous or useless. You may imagine, gentlemen, how that scepticism, that doubt, must painfully affect my heart.

“It may be that this doubt about the probability of a European revolution arises from not being sufficiently acquainted with the

present condition of Europe. I therefore accepted the present opportunity to enter into its explanation; but it is my duty to advise this distinguished assembly that, if it desires me to speak about that subject, it must nerve itself with considerable patience. The subject is not stirring, nor can it be disposed of in a few words. I will have rather to deliver a lecture than an address.

“Will you, ladies and gentlemen, hear rather a short address? Please to tell me your wish. I will say a few heart-felt words of thanks, for all the kindness I have met in Boston, and bid you a cordial farewell. If you will have an explanation about the condition of Europe, then be pleased to arm yourselves with patience. [Applause.] What is your sovereign will? What shall I do? [Cries of ‘Go on, go on,’ with prolonged applause.]

“Well, I will obey. [A voice in the crowd, ‘The longer the better.’ Applause.]

“Ladies and Gentlemen: The gigantic struggle of the first French revolution associated the name of France so much with the cause of freedom in Europe, that all the world got accustomed to see France take the lead in the struggle for European liberty, and to look to it as a power intrusted by Providence with the initiation of revolutions,—as a power without the impulse of which no liberal movement has any hope on the European continent.

“I, from my earliest days, never shared that opinion; I felt always more sympathy with the Anglo-Saxon character and Anglo-Saxon institutions, which raised England, notwithstanding its monarchy and its aristocracy, to a position prouder than Rome ever was in its most glorious days [applause], and which, free from monarchical and aristocratical elements here in America, lie at the foundation of a political organization, upon which the first true democratic republic, also consolidated and developed in freedom, power and prosperity, in such a short time, as to make it a living wonder to the contemporary age, and a book full of instruction to the coming generations. [Applause.]

“However, that opinion about the French initiative prevailed in Europe; and it was a great misfortune, because you know that France has always yet forsaken the movement which it raised in Europe, and the other nations, acting not spontaneously, but only following the impulse which the French have imparted to them, faltered and stopped at once, as soon as the French locomotive stopped. [Applause.] With that opinion of the French supremacy, no revolution in Europe could have a definite, happy issue.

“Freedom never yet was given to nations as a gift, but only as a reward [applause], bravely earned by own exertions, own sacrifices and own toil [applause]; and never will, never shall it be attained otherwise! [Applause.]

“I speak, therefore, out of profound conviction of my soul, when I say that, though the heart of the philanthropist must feel pained at the new hard trials to which the French nation is and will yet be exposed by the momentary success of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte’s inglorious usurpation, still that very fact will prove advantageous to the ultimate success of liberty in Europe. [Applause.] Louis Napoleon’s *coup d’état*, much against his will, has emancipated Europe from its reliance upon France. [Applause.] The combined initiative of nations has succeeded to the initiative of France; spontaneity and self-reliance have replaced the desponding and foreign impulse, and reliance upon foreign aid. France is reduced to the common level of nations, obliged to join general combinations, instead of regulating them; and this I take for a very great advantage. Many have wondered at the momentary success of Louis Napoleon, and are inclined to take it for an evidence that the French nation is either not capable or not worthy to be free. But that is a great fallacy. The momentary success of Louis Napoleon is rather an evidence that France is thoroughly democratic. All the revolutions in France have resulted in the preponderance of that class which bears the denomination of Bourgeoisie.

“Amongst all possible qualifications of oppression, none is more detested by the people than the oppression by an Assembly. The National Assembly of France was the most treacherous the world has ever yet known. Issued from universal suffrage, it went so far as to abolish universal suffrage; and every day of its existence was a new blow more stricken at democracy for the profit of the Bourgeoisie. Louis Napoleon has beaten asunder that Assembly, which the French democracy had so many reasons to hate and to despise; and the people applauded him, as the people of England applauded Cromwell when he whipped out the Rump Parliament, though, indeed, there is not the slightest likeness between Cromwell the Giant and Louis Napoleon the Dwarf. [Applause and cheers.]

“But by what means was Louis Napoleon permitted to do even what the people liked to see done? By no other means than by flattering the principle of democracy. He restored the universal suffrage. It is an infernal trick, to be sure; it is a shadow given for reality; but

still it proves that the democratic spirit is so consolidated in France that even despotic ambition must flatter it. [Applause.] Well, depend upon it, this democracy, which the victorious usurper feels himself constrained to flatter in the brightest moments of his triumph,—this democracy will either make out of Louis Napoleon a tool, in spite of himself, serving the democracy, or it will crush him! [Applause and cheers.]

“ France is the country of sudden changes and of unthought-of accidents. I will, therefore, not presume to tell the events of its next week; but one alternative I dare to state,— Louis Napoleon either falls or maintains himself. [Laughter.] The fall of Louis Napoleon, though old monarchical elements should unite to throw him up, can have no other issue than a republic,— a republic more faithful to the community of freedom in Europe than all the former revolutions have been. Or, if Louis Napoleon maintains himself, he can do so only either by relying upon the army, or by flattering the feelings and interest of the masses. If he relies upon the army, he must give to it glory and profit; or, in other words, he must give to it war. Well, a war of France against whomever, for whatsoever purpose, is the best possible chance for the success of European revolution. Or, if Louis Napoleon relies upon the feelings of the masses,— as, indeed, he appears willing to,— in that case, in spite of himself, he becomes a tool in the hands of democracy; and if, by becoming such, he forsakes the allegiance of his masters,— the league of absolutistical powers,— well, he will either be forced to attack them, or be attacked by them. That is so much a necessity of his position, that I would venture the prophecy that, should he succeed to maintain himself to the next spring, without being attacked from abroad, you will see him brought to the necessity of an offensive war; may be against England, but, in my opinion, more probably against Austria. They cannot both stand on the soil of Italy; and, whoever be the ruler of France, he may abandon Italy to herself, but never can abandon it to Austria. Against the rivalry of geographical necessity no whim of personal inclinations can prevail, and not even cowardice can submit to it.

“ Whichever of these alternatives may occur, so much I take for sure, that the momentary success of Louis Napoleon’s *coup d’état*, in its ultimate issue, will and must prove more subservient to the revolutionary movement of Europe, than if the French republic of 1848, with the unhappy poetry of Lamartinian policy, forsaking faithfully the revolution, and resulting in the degradation of the National

Assembly, and in the preponderance of the Bourgeoisie, could have been continued by a peaceful solution of the presidential election, which would have taken place at this very period, without the *coup d'état Napoleon*. [Applause.]

“It is not for the first time that he who serves the devil ruins him, in spite of himself. [Long-continued applause.]

“So much for France; now as to Italy.

“Italy! the sunny garden of Europe, whose blossoms are blighted by the icy north wind from St. Petersburg! Italy, that captured nightingale, placed under a fragrant bush of roses, beneath an ever-blue sky! Italy was always the battle-field of the contending principles, since hundreds and hundreds of years the German emperors, the kings of Spain, and the kings of France, fought their private feuds, their bloody battles, on her much-coveted soil, and, by their destructive influence, kept down every progress, and fostered every jealousy. By the recollections of old, the spirit of liberty was nowhere so dangerous for European absolutism as in Italy. And this spirit of republican liberty, this warlike genius of ancient Rome, was never extinguished between the Alps and the Faro.

“We are taught by the scribes of absolutism to speak of the Italians as if they were a nation of cowards; and we forget that the most renowned masters of the science of war, the greatest generals, up to our day, were Italians,—Piccolomini, Montecucculi, Farnese, Eugene of Savoy, Spinola, and Bonaparte,—a galaxy of names whose glory is dimmed but by the reflection that none of them fought for his own country. As often as the spirit of liberty awakened in Italy, the servile forces of Germany, of Spain, and of France, poured into the country, and extinguished the glowing spark in the blood of the people, lest it should once more illumine the dark night of Europe. [Cries of ‘Shame.’] Frederic Barbarossa destroyed Milan to its foundations, when it attempted to resist his imperial encroachments, by the league of independent cities, and led the plough over its smoking ruins. Charles the Fifth gathered all his powers around him to subdue Florence, when it declared itself a democratic republic. Napoleon extinguished the last remnants of republican self-government by crushing the republics of Venice, Genoa, Lucca, Ragusa, and left untouched only by derision, to ridicule republicanism, the Commonwealth of San Marino; and the Holy Alliance parted the spoils of Napoleon, and riveted anew the iron fetters together, which enslaved Italy, and forged new spiritual fetters, prevented the exten-

sion of education, and destroyed the press, in order that the Italians should not remember their past.

“ Every page, glorious in their history for twenty-five centuries, is connected with the independence of Italy ; every stain upon her honor is connected with foreign rule. And the burning minds of the Italians, though every spiritual food is denied to them, cannot be taught not to remember their past glory, and their present degradation. Every stone speaks of the ancient glory ; every Austrian policeman, every French soldier, of the present degradation. The tyrants have no power to unmake history, and to silence the feelings of the nation ; and amongst all the feelings powerful to stir up the activity of mankind, there is none more impressible than unmerited degradation, which impels us to redeem our lost honor. What is it, therefore, that keeps those petty tyrants of Italy, who are jealous of one another, on their tottering thrones, divided as they are among themselves, whilst the revolutionizing spirit of liberty unites the people ? It is only the protection of Austria, studding the peninsula with her bayonets and with her spies ; and Austria itself can dare to stud thus Italy, because she relies upon the assistance of Russia. She can send her armies to Italy, because Russia guards her eastern dominions. Let Russia keep off, and Austria is unable to keep Italy in bondage ; and the Italians, united in the spirit of independence, will settle easily their account with their own powerless princes. [Applause.] Keep off the icy blast from the Russian snows, and the tree of freedom will grow up in the garden of Europe ; though cut down by the despots, it will spring anew from the roots in the soil, which was always genial for the tree. [Applause.] Remember that no revolution in Italy was ever yet crushed by their own domestic tyrants without foreign aid ; remember that one-third of the Austrian army, which occupies Italy, are Hungarians, who have fought against and triumphed over the yellow-black flag of Austria, under the same tri-color which, having the same colors for both countries, shows emblematically that Hungary and Italy are but two wings of the same army, united against a common enemy. Remember that even now neither the Pope nor the little princes of middle Italy can subsist without an Austrian and French garrison. [Applause.] And remember that Italy is a half isle, open from three sides to the friendship of all who sympathize with civil and religious liberty on earth, but from the sea not open to Russia and Austria, because they are not maritime powers ; and so long as England is conscious of the basis of its power, and so soon as America gets con-

scious of the condition upon which its future depends, Austria and Russia will never be allowed to become maritime powers. [Applause.]

“And when you feel instinctively that the heart of the Roman must rage with fury when he looks back into the mirror of his past, that the Venetian cannot help to weep tears of fire and of blood from the Rialto,—when you feel all this, then look back how the Romans have fought in 1849, with a heroism scarcely paralleled in the most glorious day of ancient Rome; and let me tell, in addition, upon the certainty of my own positive knowledge, that the world never yet has seen such a complete and extensive revolutionary organization as that of Italy to-day — ready to burst out into an irresistible storm at the slightest opportunity, and powerful enough to make that opportunity, if either foreign interference is checked, or the interfering foreigners occupied at home. [Applause.] The revolution of 1848 has revealed and developed the warlike spirit of Italy. Except a few wealthy proprietors, already very uninfluential, the most singular unanimity exists, both as to aim and to means. There is no shade of difference of opinion, either as to what is to be done, or how to do it. All are unanimous in their devotion to the union and independence of Italy. With France or against France, by the sword, at all sacrifices, without compromise, they are but bent on renewing, over and over again, the battle, with that confidence that even without aid they will triumph, in the long run. [Cheers and prolonged applause.]

“The difficulty in Italy is not how to make a revolution, but how to prevent its untimely outbreak; and still, even in that respect, there is such a complete discipline as the world never yet has seen. In Rome, Romagna, Lombardy, Venice, Sicily, and all the middle Italy, there exists an invisible government, whose influence is everywhere discernible. [Applause.] It has eyes and hands in all departments of public service, in all classes of society; it has its taxes voluntarily paid, its force organized, its police, its newspapers regularly printed and circulated, though the possession of a single copy would send the holder to the galleys. The officers of the existing government convey the missives of the invisible government; the diligences transport its agents. One line from one of these agents opens to you the galleries of art on prohibited days, gives you the protection of uniformed officials, and, if you find no place at a diligence office, determines the directors to send a supplementary carriage. The chief of police avowed openly to Cardinal Antonelli that formerly the police watched and spied, but now the police itself is watched and spied, and punished

terribly, inexorably, if it dares to interfere with the orders of the invisible government [applause], which never fail to be punctually obeyed. [Applause.]

“The opinion of the enemy being the best evidence of the prospects of the revolution, I claim your indulgence to tell a very graphic incident.

[‘Go on!’ ‘Go on!’]

“A monsignore, the head of the secret police in Rome, came to the English consul, Mr. Freeborn, reproaching him with having sheltered the enemies of the papal government. ‘Whatever my sympathies, I protect equally,’ said Freeborn, ‘all who seek refuge from political oppression under my roof. [Applause.] If, to-morrow, an insurrection breaks out, and you, monsignore, come to the consulate to demand an asylum, you shall not be taken out whilst I am living.’ [Applause.] ‘On your honor?’ said, eagerly, the monsignore. ‘Yes, on my honor,’ answered Freeborn. [Applause.] ‘O!’ said the police director, with flaming eyes, and grasping enthusiastically the consul’s hands, ‘I shall count on your word—I shall;’ and, forgetting his official errand, he proceeded eagerly to detail the disguise in which he would present himself. [Laughter and applause.]

“Such is the condition of Italy, in the very opinion of the director of the secret police; and that this is the condition of all Italy, is shown on one side in the fact that the King of Naples holds fettered in dungeons twenty-five thousand patriots, and Radetzky [‘Shame! shame!’] has sacrificed nearly forty thousand political martyrs on the scaffold [‘Hear, hear!’]; and still the scaffold continues to be watered with blood, and still the dungeons receive new victims, evidently proving what spirit there exists in the people of Italy. [Applause.]

“And still Americans doubt that we are on the eve of a terrible revolution; and they ask, what use can I make of any material aid?—when Italy is a barrel of powder, which the slightest spark can light; and Italy is the left wing of the army of liberty, of which Hungary is the right! [Applause and cheers.]

“In respect to foreign rule, Germany is more fortunate than Italy. From the times of the treaty of Verdun, when it separated from France and Italy, through the long period of more than a thousand years, no foreign power ever has succeeded to rule over Germany, such is the resistive power of the German people to guard its national existence. The tyrants who swayed over them were of their own blood. But, to subdue German liberty, those tyrants were always

anxious to introduce foreign institutions. First, they swept away the ancient Germanic right,—this common law, so dear to the English and American, this eternal barrier against the encroachments of despotism,—and substituted for it the iron rule of the imperial Roman law. The rule of papal Rome over the minds of Germany crossed the mountains, together with the Roman law, and a spiritual dependency was to be established all over the world. The wings of the German eagle were bound, that it should not soar up to the sun of truth. But, when the oppression became too strong, the people of Germany rose against the power of Rome;—not the princes, though they, too, were oppressed, but the son of the miner of Eisenach, the poor friar Martin Luther, defied the Pope on his throne, and at his bidding the people of Germany proved that it is strong enough to shake off oppression, that it is worthy, and that it knows how to be free. And again, when the French, under their emperor, whose genius comprehended everything except freedom, extended their moral sway over Germany,—when the princes of Germany thronged around the foreign despot, begging kingly crowns from the son of the Corsican lawyer, with whom the emperors were happy to form matrimonial alliances— with the man who had no other ancestors than his genius,—then it was again the people which did not join in the degradation of its rulers, but, jealous to maintain their national independence, turned the foreigner out, though his name was Napoleon, and broke the yoke asunder, which weighed as heavily upon their princes as upon themselves. And still there are men in America who despair of the vitality of the Germans, of their indomitable power to resist oppression, of their love of freedom, and of their devotion to it, proved by a glorious history of two thousand years! The German race is a power the vitality and influence of which you can trace through the *world's* history for two thousand years; you can trace it through the history of science and heroism, industry, and of bold, enterprising spirit. Your own country, your own national character, bear the mark of German vitality. [Applause.] Other nations, now and then, were great by some great men,—the German people was always great by itself. [Applause.]

“ But the German princes cannot bear independence and liberty; they had rather themselves become slaves, the underlings of the Czar, than to allow that their people should enjoy some liberty. An alliance was therefore formed, which they blasphemously called the Holy Alliance, with the avowed purpose to keep the people down. The great powers guaranteed to the smaller princes— whose name is

legion, for they are many—the power to fleece and to torment their people, and promised every aid to them against the insurrection of those who would find that for liberty's sake it is worth while to risk their lives and property. It was an alliance for the oppression of the nations, not for the maintenance of the princely prerogative. When the Grand Duke of Baden, in a fit of liberality, granted his people the liberty of the press, the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia abolished the law, carried unanimously by the Legislature of Baden, and sanctioned by the prince. The Holy Alliance had guaranteed to the princes the power to oppress, but not the power to benefit, their people.

“But, though the great powers interfered often in the principalities and little kingdoms of Germany,—as often as the spirit of liberty awoke,—yet they avoided, themselves, every occasion which would have forced them to request the aid of their allies, and especially of Russia. They knew it too well, that to accept foreign aid against their own people was nothing else than to lose independence; it was morally the same as to kneel down before the Czar, and to take the oath of allegiance. A government which cannot stand against its own people but by foreign aid, avows that it cannot stand without foreign aid. Take that foreign aid—interference!—away, and it falls.

“The dynasties of Austria and Prussia were aware of this. They therefore yielded as often as their encroachments met a firm resistance from the people. When my nation so absolutely resisted, in 1823, the attempt to abolish its constitution, Prince Metternich himself advised the Emperor Francis to yield, and even humbly to apologize to the Diet of 1825. The King of Prussia granted even a kind of constitution, rather than to claim the assistance of the Czar. Herein you can find the explanation of the fact that the continent of Europe is not yet republican. The spirit of freedom, when roused by oppression, was lulled into sleep by constitutional concessions. The Czar of Russia was well aware of the fact that this system of compromise prevents her interference into the domestic concerns of Europe, which would lead her to the sovereign mastership over all; she therefore did everything to push the sovereigns to extremities. But she did only succeed when, by a palace revolution in Vienna, a weak and cruel youth was placed on the throne of Austria, and a passionate woman got the reins of government in her hand, and an unprincipled, reckless adventurer was ready to carry out every imperial whim, regardless of the honor of his country and the interests of his master. Russia, at

last, got her aim. Rather than to acknowledge the rights of Hungary, they bowed before the Czar, and gave up the independence of the Austrian throne; they became the underlings of a foreign power, rather than allow that one of the peoples of the European continent should become free. Since the fall of Hungary, Russia is the real sovereign of all Germany; for the first time, Germany has a foreign master! and do you believe that Germany will bear that in the nineteenth century which it never yet has borne,—bear that in its manhood which it never has borne in its childhood?

“Soon after, and through the fall of Hungary, the pride of Russia was humiliated. Austrian garrisons occupied Hamburg, Schleswig Holstein was abandoned, Hessa was chastised, and all that is dear to Germans purposely affronted. Their dreams of greatness, their longing for unity, their aspirations of liberty, were trampled down into the dust, and ridicule was thrown upon every elevation of mind, upon every revelation of patriotism. Hassenburg, convicted of forgery by the Prussian courts, became minister in Hessa; and once outlawed Schwarzenberg, and Bach, a renegade republican, ministers of Austria. The church-yard piece of oppression, which tyrants, under the name of order, are trying to enforce upon the world, has for its guardians but outlawed reprobates, forgers, and renegades. [Applause.] Could you believe that with such elements the spirit of liberty can be crushed? They know that, to habituate nations to oppression, the moral feeling of the people has to be killed. But could you really believe that the moral feeling of such a people as the German, stamped in the civilization of which it was one of the generating elements, can be killed, or that it can bear for a long while such an outrage? Do you think that the people which met the insolent bulls of the Pope in Rome by the Reformation and the Thirty Years' War, and the numberless armies of Napoleon by a general rising, that this people will tamely submit to the Russian influence, more arrogant than the papal pretensions, more disastrous than the exactions of the French empire? They broke the power of Rome and of Paris; will they agree to be governed by St. Petersburg? Those who are accustomed to see in history only the princes will say ay; but they forget that, since the Reformation, it is not more the princes who make the history, but the people; they see the tops of the trees are bent by the powerful northern hurricane, and they forget that the stem of the tree is unmoved. Gentlemen, the German princes bow before the Czar, but the German people will never bow before him. [Applause.]

“ Let me sum up the philosophy of the present condition of Germany in these few words : 1848 and 1849 have proved that the little tyrants of Germany cannot stand by themselves, but only by their reliance upon Austria and Prussia. These again cannot stand by themselves, but only by their reliance upon Russia. Take this reliance away, by maintaining the laws of nations against the principle of interference, and the joint powers of America and England can maintain them [applause]; and all the despotic governments, reduced to stand by their own resources of power, must fall before the never yet subdued spirit of the people of Germany, like rotten fruit touched by a gale. [Applause.]

“ Let me now speak about the condition of my own dear native land. [Cheers and prolonged applause.]

“ I hope not to meet any contradiction when I say that no condition can and will endure, which is so bad, so insupportable, that, by trying to change it, a people can lose nothing, and can gain everything. [Applause.]

“ No condition can and will endure, the maintenance of which is contrary to every interest of every class. [Applause.]

“ A revolution, on the contrary, is unavoidable, when every interest of every class wishes and requires it. [Applause.]

“ I will first speak of the lowest, and still most powerful of all, of the material interest :

“ There are some countries where, however insupportable be the condition of the masses, still the government has an ally in the mighty and influential class of bankers, who lend their money to support despotism with, and in those who invested their fortunes in the shares of these loans, negotiated by bankers, speculating upon and with the fortunes of small capitalists.

“ That class of men, partly tools of oppression, partly the fools of the tools [applause and laughter], exists not in Hungary. We have no such bankers in Hungary, and have but a very small, inconsiderable number of such who invested their fortunes in such loan shares. And even the few who have been playing in the fatal loan share gain have withdrawn from it, at every price, because they feared to lose all. From that quarter, therefore, the house of Austria has no ally in Hungary.

“ As to the former aristocracy, a class influential by its connections, and by its large landed property, you remember that, when I succeeded to abolish the feudal charges, and converted millions of my

countrymen, of different religion and different language, out of leaseholders into free landed proprietors, we guaranteed an indemnification to the land-owners for what they lost.

“From a farm of about thirty-five to fifty acres of land, the farmer had to work one hundred and two days a year for the land-owner, give him the ninth part of all his crops, half a dollar in ready money, besides particular fees for shop-keeping, brewery, mill, &c. We have freed the people from all the incumbrances; and, thanks to God, that benefit never more can be torn from the people’s hands! [Applause, and cries of ‘Good! good!’] The aristocracy consented to it, because we had guaranteed full indemnification for it. The very material existence of this class of former land-owners is depending from that indemnification, to defray with it their debts, which they formerly had the habit wantonly to contract, and to provide for the cultivation of their own large allodial property, which they formerly cultivated by the hands of their leaseholders, but now have to invest a capital into.

“Now, this indemnification, amounting to one hundred millions of dollars, the house of Austria never can realize. You know, with its centralized government, which is always very expensive, with its standing army of six hundred thousand men the only support of its precarious existence, with its army of spies and secret police, with its system of corruption and robbery, with its fourteen hundred millions of debt, with its eternal deficit in its current expenditures, with its new loans to pay the interest of the old, and with the certainty of an unavoidable bankruptcy, this indemnification Austria never can pay to the former aristocracy of Hungary. The only means to get this indemnification is the restoration of Hungary to its independence by a new revolution. [Applause.]

“Independent Hungary can pay it, because it has no debts, will want no large standing armies, and will have a cheap administration; because not centralized, but municipal, the people governing itself in and through municipalities, the cheapest of all governments. [Applause.]

“Hungary has already pointed out the fund out of which that indemnification can and will be paid, without any imposition upon the people, and any loss to the commonwealth. Hungary has large state lands, belonging to and administered by the commonwealth. I have mathematically proved that the landed property of the state, sold in small parcels to those who have yet no land, connected with a banking operation founded upon that very reality, to facilitate the payment of

the price, is more than sufficient to pay that indemnification ; besides, a small land-tax, which the new owners of that immense property, divided into small farms, will have to pay, as other land proprietors, will yield more revenue to the commonwealth than all the proceeds of domestic administration. [Applause.]

“This my proposition, having been submitted to the National Assembly, has been accepted and approved, and has attached to the revolution the numerous class of farm laborers who have not yet their own farms, and who contemplate with the liveliest joy this benevolent provision, which Austria can never execute, because, financially ruined as she is, she cannot be contented either with the tax revenue or the banking arrangement, to defray the indemnification ; she sells the stock whenever she can find a man to buy it.

“But here is a remarkable fact, proving how little is the future of Austria contemplated to be sure even by its votaries. Whoever is willing to sell a landed property in Hungary, foreign bankers, Austrian capitalists, buy it readily at an enormous price, because they know that private transactions will be respected by our revolution ; but from the government nobody buys a single acre of land, because every man knows that such a transaction must be considered void. [Applause.] Nay, more, not even as a gift is accepted by whomever an estate from the present government. Haynau himself was offered in reward a large landed property by the government ; he did not accept, but preferred a comparatively small sum of money, not amounting to one-tenth of the value of the offered land, and he bought from a private individual a landed property for the money, because, that being a private transaction, is sure to stand ; whereas in the future of the Austrian government in Hungary not even its Haynaus have confidence ! [Prolonged applause and cheers.]

“The manufacturing interests anxiously wish and must wish a revolution, because manufacturing industry is entirely ruined now by Austria. Every favor, encouragement and aid, which the national government imparted by industry, is not only withdrawn, but substituted by the old system, the tendency of which is neither to allow Hungary free trade,—to buy manufactured articles where they can be had in the best quality, or at the cheapest price,—nor to permit manufacturing at home, but to conserve Hungary in the position of a colonial market, a condition always regarded as insupportable, and sufficient motive for a revolution, as you yourself, out of your own history, know. [Applause and cheers.]

“The commercial interest anxiously desire a revolution, because there exists, in fact, no active commerce in Hungary, the Hungarian commerce being degraded into a mere brokership of Vienna. [Applause.]

“All those who have yet in their hands the Hungarian bank-notes, issued by my government, must wish a revolution, because Austria, alike foolish as criminal, has declared them out of value,—thus they cannot be restored to value but by a revolution. The amount of those bank-notes in the hands of the people is yet about twenty millions of dollars. No menaces, no cruelty, can induce the people to give it up to the usurper; they put it into bottles, and bury it in the earth. [Applause.] They say it is good money when Kossuth comes home. [Cheers and prolonged applause.] But, while no menaces of Austria can induce the people to give up this treasure of our impending revolution, a single line of mine sent home is obeyed, and the money is treasured up where I have designated. [Applause.]

“Do you now understand, gentlemen, by what motive I say that, once at home, once our struggle engaged, I do not want your material aid, and neither wish nor would accept all your millions; but that I want your material aid to get home, and to get home in such a way as will inspire confidence in my people, by seeing me bring home the only thing which it has not — arms! [Enthusiastic applause.]

“But, I am asked, where will I land? That, of course, I will not say; — perhaps directly at Vienna, in a Montgolfier, in a balloon [laughter and applause],—but one thing I may say, because that is no secret: remember that all Italy is a sea-coast, and remember that Italy has the same enemy which Hungary has; that Italy is the left wing of that army of which Hungary is the right wing, and that in Italy forty thousand Hungarian soldiers [applause] exist, as also, in general, in the Austrian army one hundred and sixty thousand [applause] Hungarians exist. More I cannot and will not say, upon the subject. [Applause.]

“But I will say that all the amount of taxation the people of Hungary formerly had to pay was but four and a half million dollars,—now it has to pay sixty-five million dollars; that land-owners offer their land to the government, only to get rid of the land-tax, larger than all the revenue; that we have raised yearly six hundred thousand hundred weight of tobacco,—now the monopoly of tobacco being introduced, the people does not more smoke, and has burnt its tobacco-seed. [Applause, and cries of ‘Good! good!’] We have raised

one hundred and twenty million gallons of wine. [A voice in the crowd, 'Good!' Laughter and prolonged applause.] Gentlemen, I come not to interfere with the domestic concerns of America. [Applause.] I have no opinion about the Maine liquor law. [Applause.] For myself, I am very fond of water. [Laughter and applause, with cries of 'Good!'] But still I may say it is my opinion it will be many years before the Maine liquor law through all Europe will pass. [Prolonged applause and enthusiastic cheers.] Well, gentlemen, as I was about to say, one-half of the vineyards are cut down. Hundred thousands live upon horticulture and fruit cultivation; the trees are cut down to escape the heavy taxation laid upon them. The stamp tax is introduced, the most insupportable to free men; village from village, town from town, city from city, is divided by custom lines; the poor peasant woman bringing a dozen of eggs to the market has to pay the tax of consumption before she is permitted to enter; and when she brings medicine home for her sick child, she has again to pay before permitted to enter her home. [Cries of 'Shame!']

“And, besides this material oppression, and the daily and nightly vexations connected with it,—the Protestants deprived of the self-government of their church and school, for which they have thrice taken up arms victoriously in three centuries; the Roman Catholics deprived of the security of their church property; the people of every race deprived of its nationality, because there exists no public life where to exert it; no national existence, no constitution, no municipalities, no domestic law, no domestic officials, no security of person and of property, but arbitrary power, martial law, and the hangman and the jail;—and on the other side, Hungarian patriotism, Hungarian honor, Hungarian heroism, Hungarian vitality, stamped in the vicissitudes of a thousand years, and the consciousness that we have beaten Austria when we had no army, no money, no friends, and the knowledge that now we have an army, and for home purposes have money in the safe-guarded bank-notes, and have America for a friend [applause], and, in addition to all this, the confidence of my people in my exertions, and the knowledge of these exertions, of which my people is quite as well informed as yourself,—nay, more, because it sees and knows what I do at home, whereas you see but what I do here. [Applause.] Well, if with all this you still doubt about the struggle in Europe being nigh, and still despair of its chances of success, then God be merciful to my poor brains, I know not what to think! [Applause.]

“Some take me here for a visionary. Curious, indeed, if that man who, a poor son of the people, has abolished an aristocracy of a thousand years old, created a treasury of millions out of nothing, an army out of nothing, and directed a revolution so as to fix the attention of the whole world upon Hungary, and has beaten the old, well-provided power of Austria, and crushed its future by his very fall, and, forsaken, abandoned, alone, sustained a struggle against two empires, and made himself in his very exile feared by czars and emperors, and trusted by foreign nations as well as his own,—if that man be a visionary, then for so much pride I may be excused, that I would like to look face to face into the eyes of a practical man on earth! [Cheers and prolonged applause.]

“Gentlemen, I had many things yet to say. [Cries of ‘Go on!’ ‘Take your time!’] Gentlemen, the condition, change and prospects, of Europe, are not spoken of so easily, as you have seen, when only the condition of my own country is touched. I don’t know that I shall succeed, but I will try to say something about Turkey. [Cries of ‘Go on, as long as you please!’]

“Turkey, which deserves your sympathy because it is the country of municipal institutions, the country of religious toleration! [Applause.] Turkey, when it extended its sway over Transylvania and half of Hungary, never interfered with the way in which the inhabitants chose to govern themselves; she allowed even those who lived within her dominions to collect there the taxes voted by independent Hungary, with the aim to make war against the Porte. Whilst in the other parts of Hungary Protestantism was oppressed by the Austrian policy, and the Protestants several times compelled to take up arms for the defence of religious liberty, in Transylvania, under the sovereignty of the Porte, the Unitarians got political rights, and Protestantism grew up under the protecting wings of the Ottoman power.

“The respect for municipal institutions is so deeply rooted in the minds of the Turks, that at the time when they became masters of the Danubian provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, they voluntarily excluded themselves from all political rights in the newly-acquired provinces; and, up to the present day, they do not allow that a mosque should be built, that a Turk should dwell and own landed property across the Danube. They do not interfere with the taxation or with the internal administration of these provinces; and the last organic law of the empire, the Tanzimat, is nothing but the re-declaration of

the rights of municipalities, guaranteeing them against the centralizing encroachment of the Pachas. Whilst Czar Nicholas is about to convert the Protestant population of Livonia and Esland, by force and by alluring promises, to the Greek Church, the liberal Sultan Abdul Medjid grants full religious liberty to all sects of Protestantism. But we are accustomed to look upon Turkey as upon a third-rate power, only because, in 1828, it was defeated by Russia. Let us now see how the balance stood at that time, and how it stands now.

“In 1828 the Turkish population was full of hatred and discontent, on account of the extermination of the Janissaries.

“The Christian population was ready to rise against the government, on account of the events of the Greek war.

“Albania was in revolt, because it was opposed to the system of conscriptions for regular military service. Anatolia was discontented on the same ground. Mehemet Ali possessed Egypt, and paralyzed the action of the government in Arabia and Syria. Servia had just laid down arms, but had not yet concluded peace. The Danubian principalities, though unfavorable to Russia, were not hearty in support of the Porte, and remained apathetic under the occupation of Russia.

“The revenue did not exceed four hundred millions of piastres (twenty million dollars), and was insufficient for a second campaign.

“The new army was not yet organized, and amounted only to thirty-two thousand men, without tried generals. The fleet was destroyed at Navarino. The foreign diplomatists had left the empire, and the capital was exposed to an attack of the enemy.

“In such a position, no European government could have risked a war.

“Russia had just defeated Persia, and got by this victory access to the Asiatic provinces of the Turkish empire, which had, therefore, to defend its frontiers on both sides.

“Russia had not yet entered into Circassia, and could therefore rally all her forces. She had not yet abolished the Poland of 1815, and could leave it without garrisons. She had not yet roused the hatred or the jealousies of Europe. She had engaged all the natural allies of the Porte into a combination for rousing the populations of her enemy; and she got by her diplomacy the possibility of bringing her fleet into the Mediterranean, for blockading the ports of Turkey, and Navarino opened for her the Black Sea, where she had thirteen men-of-war.

“Not disturbed by the Porte, by Circassia, by Poland, by France,

or by England, she had prepared two years for this war; whilst her enemy, passing through a terrible crisis, was without money, without an organized army, without a fleet, without other resources than the feeble Mussulman population on the seat of war.

“Twenty-four years have altered the balance. Turkey has now the enthusiastic support of her Mussulman population. The Christian population, with the only exception of Bulgaria, partakes of this enthusiasm. All the warlike tribes, from Albania to Kurdistan, are now supporting the authority of the Sultan. Mehemet Ali is gone; Arabia and Syria are again under the dominion of the Sultan. Servia has made peace, and has become the support of Turkey, offering her, in case of a Russian war, eighty thousand men. The principalities have become the enemies of Russia; they had too long to suffer from her oppression. The public revenue has doubled. Turkey has organized a regular army of two hundred thousand men, equal to any other; and, besides, the militia. She has distinguished generals — Omer Pasha, Guyon. Her fleet is equal to the Russian fleet in the Black Sea, and her steam-fleet superior to the Russian. She has, for allies, all the people from the Caucasus to the Carpathians; the Circassians, the Tartars, under Emir Mirza, and the Cossacks of the Dobroja, by whom the electric shock is transmitted to Poland and Hungary, form an unbroken chain, by which the spark is carried into the heart of Europe, where all the combustible elements wait for the moment of explosion. Twenty-four years ago, Turkey was believed to be in a decaying state; it is now stronger than it has been for the last hundred years.

“Russia, during this time, was unable to overcome the resistance of Circassia; and, cut off from her south-eastern provinces, she cannot attack Turkey in the rear. The Caucasian lines furnished her, in 1828, with thirty thousand men, Poland with one hundred thousand; the two countries require now an army of observation and occupation of two hundred thousand men; the Danubian principalities absorb again fifty thousand.

“The Russian fleet in the Black Sea remains as it was in 1828,—thirteen men-of-war then, thirteen now; and, whilst in 1828 she had scarcely an enemy in Europe, she has now scarcely one friend, except the kings; and all her enemies, whom she has defeated, one by one, have combined against her,—Poland, Hungary, the Danubian principalities, Turkey, Circassia.

“Where is now the force of Russia? Does she not remind us of

the golden image of Nebuchadnezzar, standing on feet of clay? [Applause.]

“And yet, gentlemen, that Russia can make doubtful the struggle in Europe,—not because powerful in arms, but dangerous because it stands ready to support tyrants, when nations are tired out in a struggle, or before they have time to make preparations for resistance, — then is Russia only a power to be feared. Well, gentlemen, shall America stand up, with its powerful voice, and forbid, when nations have shaken off their domestic tyrants, that Russia shall interfere? Gentlemen, remember that Peter the Czar left a testament to the people, that Russia must take Constantinople. Why? That Russia might be a great power; and, that it may be, Constantinople is necessary, because no nation can be a great power which is not a maritime power. Now, see how Turkey has grown in twenty-four years. The more Russia delays, the stronger Turkey becomes; and therefore is Russia in haste to fulfil the destiny to become a maritime power.

“You can see why is my fear that this week, or this month, or this year, Russia will attack Turkey, and we shall not be entirely prepared; but though you do not give us ‘material aid,’ still must we rise when Turkey is attacked, because we must not lose its forty thousand soldiers. The time draws nigh when you will see more the reason I have to hasten these preparations [applause], that they may be fulfilled, when, through the death of Nicholas or Louis Napoleon,—a thousand other things, or most probably a war between Russia and Turkey,—we may take time by the — hair — is that the word? — [Applause. A voice from the crowd, ‘Forelock.’] Yes, gentlemen, forelock. [Applause.] But I can’t help it. Indeed, I have a little faith sometimes that strange spirits speak out of me, so little English I know. [Applause.]

“But, gentlemen, let me close. I am often told, let only the time come when the republican banner is unfurled in the Old World, then we shall see what America will do. [Applause. Cries of ‘Yes.’] Well, gentlemen, your aid may come too late to be rendered beneficial. Remember ’48 and ’49. Had the nations of Europe not your sympathy? [Applause.] Were your hearts less generous than now? It was not in time,—it came after, not before. Was your government not inclined to recognize nations? It sent Mr. Mann to Hungary to inquire,—would that when he inquired he had been authorized to recognize our achieved independence!

“Gentlemen, let me end. Before all, let me thank you for your generous patience in having listened so long to a bad speech. It is another of the generous manifestations of sympathy I have met here in Massachusetts and in Boston. [Applause.]

“This is my last meeting. Whatever may be my fate, so much I can say, that the name of Boston and Massachusetts will remain a dear word and a dear name, not only to me but to my people, for all time. And, whatever my fate, I will, with the last breath of my life, raise the prayer to God that he may bless you, and bless your city, and bless your country, and bless all your land, for all the coming time and to the end of time; that your freedom and prosperity may still develop and grow and progress from day to day; and that one glory should be added to the glory which you already have,—the glory that America, republican America, may unite with her other principles the principle of Christian brotherly love among the family of nations; and so may she become the corner-stone of liberty on earth! That is my farewell word to you.” [Cheers and enthusiastic applause.]

When Kossuth took his seat, a universal call was made for Pulszky. He stepped upon the platform, and said the general had marked out the plan of the campaign. He was only a common soldier. When the time for action came, he would be found at his post. [Applause.]

When Mr. Pulszky took his seat, there was a rush towards the platform, and a hundred hands were extended to Kossuth, pleading to be shaken, and hundreds more were waiting to be extended; but Kossuth was so much fatigued that the officers of the meeting begged the people to excuse him. When he was conducted through the hall, the highest enthusiasm prevailed; and the crowd at the door was so great that the committee, himself and suite, were obliged to remain in the ante-chamber for a considerable length of time, until the people had dispersed. Thus ended the last Kossuth meeting in Boston.

THE KOSSUTH COMMITTEE.

AFTER his speech on the condition of Europe, Kossuth made no further public appearance in Boston, but spent a few days in receiving deputations and private visitors. The result of some of the conferences which he held during these days is stated in the following circular:

TO THE PUBLIC. — At a meeting held in Boston, May 17, 1852, of gentlemen friendly to the cause of Hungary and of freedom and republicanism in Europe, the undersigned were constituted a committee to raise a fund for the promotion of that cause, and were instructed to lay before the public the following declaration of their aims and purposes.

From statements confidentially made to them by Governor Kossuth, of his operations, agencies and prospects, the committee do not hesitate to express their conviction —

That the course of events in Hungary and other parts of Europe is rapidly tending towards a revolution, having for its object the establishment of republican institutions; a revolution not created by individual effort,—not the result of machinations, agitation or conspiracy, but springing from the natural and inevitable impulses of an oppressed but high-spirited population; a revolution, the movement towards which Governor Kossuth and his coadjutors have, at this moment, much more difficulty in restraining from untimely outbreak than in urging on :

That when the proper time arrives, which will be at no distant period, the existence of certain means in the hands of Governor Kossuth, or at his control, will be of the most effectual service in enabling him to assume such a position as will be essential to the success of his cause, and consequently to the speedy establishment of a lasting peace in Europe, without any—or with the least possible—effusion of human blood.

To assist Governor Kossuth in procuring these essential means, the committee propose to raise, by voluntary subscription among the people, a fund, to be disposed of in the following manner :—

The money contributed shall remain in the hands of the committee, subject to no demand or control whatever, except that of Governor Kossuth. At the suggestion, however, of Governor Kossuth, who is desirous to give to the public the greatest possible security that the money contributed shall be used only in a proper and efficient way, the committee engage that none of the money shall be expended except for specific purposes, which meet their approbation, and appear to them practicable and reasonable, not contrary to the laws or interests of the United States, and calculated to advance the cause of freedom in Europe.

When Governor Kossuth shall apply to the committee for the whole or any portion of the fund, it shall be expended under his direction, or

that of his authorized agents, provided the purpose or purposes for which it is wanted are satisfactorily explained and justified to the committee, or to a sub-committee chosen by them; but, without such explanation, none of the money shall be expended.

In case of the death of Governor Kossuth, or of his obvious inability to employ the fund for its intended purposes, it shall be disposed of as the committee may deem proper under the circumstances.

The committee have received from Governor Kossuth the following note, containing his sanction to their proposed proceedings :

“GENTLEMEN : Departing from the State of Massachusetts, I leave the interests of the cause which I plead — the cause of civil and religious liberty in Europe — in the hands of you, who possess my full confidence. To your fostering care I intrust the sympathy which has greeted me over all the classical ground of your state, and I trust that your generous zeal will find means to turn this sympathy into practical account for the cause of freedom. I hope that your committee will, to this end, become the centre of action for New England, and, if possible, for the Union. A cause advocated by such men as you, gentlemen, cannot fail to be successful. L. KOSSUTH.”

“*Boston, Mass., May 18, 1852.*”

As soon as practicable, the committee will establish agencies wherever it may be deemed expedient. These will be announced hereafter. Meantime, they respectfully invite those who are disposed to assist in the formation of the fund to forward their contributions, by mail or otherwise, to Stephen C. Phillips, Salem; to Dr. Samuel G. Howe, Boston; or to William A. White, No. 2 Thorndike's Building, State-street, Boston. In return for contributions of not less than one dollar, Hungarian bonds will be sent, if desired.

STEPHEN C. PHILLIPS,
JOHN B. ALLEY,
N. P. BANKS, JR.,
Z. D. BASSET,
ANSON BURLINGAME,
ROBERT CARTER,

CHARLES C. HAZEWELL,
ERASTUS HOPKINS,
SAMUEL G. HOWE,
MYRON LAWRENCE,
WILLIAM A. WHITE,
HENRY WILSON.

DEPARTURE OF KOSSUTH FROM MASSACHUSETTS.

KOSSUTH and suite left Boston Tuesday morning, May 18, at eight o'clock, in the regular train for Albany, where great preparations were made to receive him. He was accompanied by Horace E. Smith, Esq., of the Legislative Committee, Adjutant General Stone, and Col. Needham, of the Governor's Staff. A large company assembled at the Worcester depot to bid him farewell. The Commonwealth says: "The parting scene was no matter of mere ceremony, but showed that during his brief stay with us Kossuth has won a place in the very heart of hearts of the best men among us."

The car which bore away the illustrious guest of the state was beautifully and appropriately decorated, bearing on either side the words "Cradle of Liberty," and having a gilded eagle at each end, with the name of "Kossuth" beneath it. Both within and without, the car was adorned with flowers and flags. As the engine started, three hearty cheers arose, and Kossuth bowed his farewell to Boston and Massachusetts.

At Pittsfield Kossuth was met by a committee, at the head of which was Hon. Henry H. Childs, and conducted to a platform, where he was received by an immense concourse of people, and presented with two cases containing eighty muskets.

He arrived at Albany at four o'clock, P. M., and was met at the landing on the Hudson by the secretary of state, the mayor, and other state and city dignitaries, and by an immense crowd of citizens. Here the Massachusetts State Committee took their leave of him.

APPENDIX.

MR. HAZEWELL'S REPORT ON INTERVENTION.

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

IN SENATE, March 13th, 1852.

THE Special Joint Committee to whom was referred so much of the Address of His Excellency the Governor as relates to intervention in the affairs of Europe

REPORT:

That they have given the subject that careful and candid consideration which its importance demands, with the hope of being enabled so to treat it as to command the approbation of the people of Massachusetts for their labors. They did not enter upon those labors without being aware that they would have to encounter, on the part of some, prejudices in favor of a policy different from what they believe should now be pursued by the American nation, and which policy has been so identified with the name of Washington,—though it really originated in the necessities of the times that saw its birth, and would have marked our early course as a nation had Washington never lived,—that it requires some effort to speak of it as we all have the right to speak of things that belong to the past. Nor were they ignorant that in the fear of many exists a formidable objection to the adoption of a more manly and liberal foreign policy by the United States than has heretofore been pursued. It is by many taken for granted that an expression of opinion on the part of the American nation in support of “intervention to maintain non-intervention” would necessarily lead to war between that nation and the absolute powers of Europe; and, therefore, they would not have even the government of one of the states say anything which might be offensive to the rulers of countries with which the republic is at peace. The power of the Russian Czar, being palpable in its character, and comprehensible by the lowest capacity, exerts over the minds of this class of people an influence, the existence of which is, to the minds of the committee, one of the strongest reasons why all independent communities should prepare themselves for that combat between the principle of freedom and the principle of despotism which is “inevitable,” if the history of the past affords any indication of what is to be the history of the future. The very fact

that such fear of Russia exists among us is sufficient evidence that we are not without the sphere of Russian influence. The question of intervention apart, and supposing that the political condition of Europe were to remain undisturbed for a generation, there are various ways through which we may be brought into difficulties with that nation, which has doubled its population since the commencement of our own national life, and the influence of which overshadows all Europe,—that influence being ever exerted in behalf of despotism, the political principle most opposite to that which animates the American people.

There are those who object to any action on the part of the Legislatures of the states having reference to matters especially within the province of the general government. The management of all our intercourse with foreign powers is confided to the general government. whose action, it is inferred, will be embarrassed by what is called the “interference” of the states in matters with which they have no immediate concern. This objection is entitled to but little respect. For more than sixty years — from the time that the French revolution was commenced until now — it has been the custom of the people of the states to express their sentiments on foreign affairs. The manner in which the authorities of some of the states acted towards the French revolutionists shows that in what are commonly considered the best days of the republic, and before the neutrality policy was avowedly adopted by the general government, public men in the states deemed it a duty to sympathize with the friends of freedom in other lands; and it is known that in so doing they represented the sentiments of the great body of the people. Nor is there any evidence that the leaders of the anti-revolutionary party in Europe ever took offence at such proceedings on the part of our predecessors. It may be said that our insignificance as a nation down to the occurrence of the second war with Great Britain rendered the action of Americans with reference to foreign affairs, so far as the individual states were concerned, of small consequence to those powers which carried on wars of opinion with millions of men in the field; whereas now, when the United States constitute one of the great nations of the earth, with a military character thoroughly established, and means of offence at their control second to none, the action of the least of their number should be more wary and cautious than ever, in order that no umbrage be given to countries with whom we have commercial relations, the disturbance of which would be productive of injury to great interests. This is to say that we should abide by a selfish policy from motives of mere interest, and that in proportion as we become wealthy and powerful we should refrain from acts which can receive importance only from those who engage in them possessing wealth and power. It is making but a poor return for the immense blessings which we enjoy, to declare, by acts, if not by words, that precisely because of our enjoyment of those blessings we will in no way assist any other people to obtain them. That prosperity hardens the hearts of men, and makes them less capable or less willing to assist their unfortunate brethren, is among

those melancholy truths which philosophy asserts, and which is confirmed by the experience and observation of almost every individual; but it is reserved for our own time to see the same principle inculcated openly as forming the very essence of wisdom in the intercourse between nation and nation. Though nations have too often acted on a principle so selfish, they have had the grace to affect to cover their proceedings with the veil of expediency, or some other of those coverings which men throw over deeds the naked deformity of which shocks even the most heedless of minds. As it is the duty — however ill-performed on many occasions — of the powerful and the wealthy among individuals to assist the weak and the poor, so is it the duty of great nations to aid other nations to maintain their rights. Either this is so, or there must be a different code of morality to regulate intercourse between nation and nation from that which, in theory at least, regulates intercourse between man and man. If it is our duty as individuals to protect the weak against the oppression of the strong, how can we consistently assert that it is not the duty of a nation to protect another nation against the attacks of a tyrant who knows no other law than his own will, and whose mandate is sufficient, when unresisted, to cause the destruction of entire families, to extinguish national life, and to give up fertile lands and opulent cities to all the horrors of military execution? If it is the duty of man, as an individual, not merely to respect the weakness of woman, but to protect her against the assaults of the vicious, at whatever hazard to himself, how much more important, because more comprehensive, must be the duty of men in communities to make use of all the power which God has conferred upon them to combat the oppressor who outrages all those chivalrous sentiments which constitute the greatest security of the one sex and the greatest glory of the other, by letting loose upon a refined and cultivated community barbarian hordes, one of the motives of whose action is the unrestricted license which shall reward their exertions in the field! If it is the duty of a great nation to encourage the progress of civilization in every way, can we deny that it is also its duty to prevent a half-savage power, possessed of vast strength, from trampling out the lights of civilization in other countries, which have given to it no cause of offence, but which were disposed rather to defer to it, to deprecate its hostility in every way? If it is our duty to relieve the poor and to comfort the afflicted, is it not also our duty — our power being equal to the task — to prevent innocent nations from being turned into vast collections of paupers? The responsibility of a nation cannot be gravely pronounced less than that of the least of the individuals who go to make it up as a whole; and no man pretends to say that we are not bound, as individuals, to aid the victims of tyranny everywhere. In point of fact, our national government has already interfered in the quarrel between the Hungarians and their oppressors of the imperial houses of Austria and Romanoff. When its influence was used to procure the release of Kossuth, though his detention was urged by Austria and Russia upon the Sultan, it

took part in that quarrel; and not less pointed was its interference when it sent the *national* armed steamship Mississippi to convey him and his suite to this country. It matters not that it is said *now* that that ship was sent merely to bring him and his family and attendants to the United States. The government knew that its action would be interpreted by both parties in Europe into an expression of its own sympathy, and that of the American nation, with the Hungarians. As such it was regarded; and no other interpretation could be placed upon it by men possessed of a competent knowledge of the condition of Europe at that time. But for the interference of the governments of Great Britain and the United States, Louis Kossuth would at this moment have been a prisoner in Asia Minor, for the threat of annihilation was held out to the Sultan, should he free his guest; and nothing but the "intervention" of England and America (which the former power was ready to back up with her invincible fleets) prevented that threat from being executed. That act of "intervention" was regarded in every town and village of Hungary as an act in favor of the cause of that country; and justly so regarded, for the liberation of Kossuth was the commencement of that great system of agitation which is destined to change the condition of the world.

The committee do not recommend the expression of any such sentiments on the part of the Legislature as may lead to the belief that Massachusetts is desirous that the general government should enter upon a crusade for the establishment of peculiar political principles in any part of the world. They are not prepared to say how far the doctrine of intervention should be applied, though it is sufficiently clear to them that cases have already occurred which would have justified the armed intervention of the United States in the affairs of Europe. They could have justly interfered to prevent the destruction of the Hungarian nation, in 1849, when it was assailed — causelessly, and in violation of the laws of nations — by the Czar of Russia. Hungary was an old country. Her constitution had had an existence for centuries. In the early part of the sixteenth century the throne of that country was ascended by a member of the house of Hapsburgh, the same monarch who, at a later day, became Emperor of Germany, under the title of Ferdinand I., and chief of the German branch of the dynasty to which he belonged. There is no better established historical fact than this, namely, that from the early part of the sixteenth century until now, one of the objects which the house of Austria has had most at heart, which it has steadily kept in view, and from which neither fear nor gratitude has ever for a moment diverted its attention, has been the overthrow of the constitution of Hungary. No means have been left unattempted to accomplish that end. Cruelties the most shocking, and such as, if they were not attested by the most unimpeachable evidence, could not be believed, have been resorted to in the hope of effecting it. In the hope of success in the same end, the most solemn oaths, the most positive obligations, have been disregarded. Sometimes threats and force, and at others intrigue and

fraud, have been the means resorted to by the Austrian family to bring the kingdom of Hungary within that system of centralization which has proved so fatal to the liberties of more than one European country. A third means has been the apparent adoption of liberal legislation by the most despotically-inclined ruling family in Europe, so that at one time an impression prevailed very generally in this country that the Hungarians were obstinately contending against the exertions of the imperial and royal house to meliorate the condition of the majority of the people in the ancient kingdom of Hungary.

It has never been contended, by the most ardent friends of freedom and national rights, that the constitution of Hungary was perfect. It had great and grave defects, therein resembling every polity of which we have any knowledge. Like the English constitution, it was originally eminently aristocratical in its character; for it came into being at a period when the people, properly so called, had no political existence. Like the English constitution, however, it contained the principle of expansion; and but for circumstances clearly beyond the power of the Hungarians to control, it is probable that freedom, regulated by law, would have become as decidedly pronounced in Hungary as it has long been in England. The fact that Hungary became the battle-ground on which the followers of the Cross struggled against those of the Crescent, in those wars which followed the establishment of the Turkish power in Europe, would alone be sufficient to account for the little advance which that country made between the date of the battle of Mohacz and the opening years of the last century; but, in addition to that, was the Austrian rule over the greater part of Hungary,—a rule most unfavorable to the establishment there of anything like civil or religious freedom. The national existence of Hungary, however, was maintained, as also were, in great part, her local institutions. Those institutions were obnoxious to the ruling dynasty, not because in some respects they may have borne hard upon the people, but for the reason that they alone prevented the *Kings*, who were also Emperors of Germany, from establishing a despotism over Hungary. The Hungarians did not contend for the preservation of their peculiar polity because they believed it was perfect in all its parts, or because they were averse to all improvement; but because it was regarded by them as a powerful barrier against the encroachments of that executive government which had so long, and with such steadiness and perseverance, sought to reduce them to a condition of political servitude, because through its existence alone could their nationality be preserved, their freedom maintained, and their hopes of future improvement continue to have a better foundation than the dreams of political visionaries or the good intentions of benevolent despots. The Hungarians, in energetically defending their own polity, may not unfairly be compared to the English patriots of the seventeenth century, who contended with success against the Stuarts, when that family sought to change the polity of England. The Stuarts aimed as much at elevating the English people under

their rule as the monarchs of the house of Austria have aimed at the elevation of the people of Hungary; but, in the one case, as in the other, the final result of royal success would have been the reduction of both high and low to a common condition of slavery. At the bar of history it has never been allowed that it should be pleaded in behalf of Strafford that his good government of Ireland was an offset to his intention to destroy the constitution of his country. The same justice should be observed in making up our estimate of the character of the disputes that have from time to time occurred between the Hungarians and the house of Austria, in which the latter has *apparently*, but not *really*, held the position of head of the liberal party in the kingdom of Hungary. We are bound to judge of the conduct of the Hungarian patriots in precisely the same way that we judge of the acts of John Hampden and Henry Vane,—by its general intent and final objects.

During the great political wars which were consequent on the French revolution, and into which Hungary was forced by the fact that the chief of the house of Austria was her king, the Hungarians were not able to make much advance in the path of constitutional improvement. They remained scrupulously faithful to their monarch, though it is known that Napoleon would have willingly erected their country into a kingdom which should have no connection with any country subject to the sway of the house of Hapsburgh-Lorraine. Though the wisdom of the Hungarians, in thus refusing to profit by the greatest opportunity ever offered them to rid themselves of the rule of a treacherous line, may well be doubted, their conduct speaks loudly in favor of the chivalrous generosity of their character. They were incapable of taking advantage of their sovereign's distresses, and bore themselves towards him with the same loyal devotion that had characterized the conduct of their ancestors towards Maria-Theresa, then Queen of Hungary. That their loyalty, however, was not the result of a blind, fanatical regard for kings, is incontestably established by the fact that when Austria repudiated her debts, in 1812, the Hungarian Diet sternly refused to sanction such a breach of the public faith. This shows their deep-seated regard for pledges made by governments, upon the proper observance of which depends so largely the well-being of the world. It is an additional reason why the claims of the Hungarians to solid assistance should be allowed by nations like Great Britain and the United States,—nations commercial in their character, and whose power and the happiness of whose people are greatly dependent upon the observance of public faith.

The final fall of Napoleon, in 1815, having restored peace to the great absolute powers, the house of Austria renewed its attacks on the constitution of Hungary. This was in accordance with that system of reaction against liberal ideas that was favored by the parties to the Holy Alliance, and by the princes and statesmen of the continent generally, between 1815 and 1830. But the possession of a constitution by the Hungarians, imperfect though it was, enabled them to baffle all the attempts of the Austrian house and cabinet to bring

them within the influence of the system of centralization. A contest of the most important character was commenced between the Austrian party and the liberal party in Hungary. In 1832, so much progress had been made by the Hungarian liberals, that in the Diet which that year assembled they had a majority of the members of the Chamber of Deputies. The Austrian party, on the other hand, controlled the executive branch of the government, and the majority of the Magnates were in its interest. This state of things prevented full reforms being made. That the peasants were not then emancipated, was owing to the ascendancy of Austrian principles in two branches of the Hungarian government. But something was accomplished. Reform was commenced. The liberal party increased in strength. It combated with success against the champions of the old order of things, and Hungary was carried steadily forward in the course of constitutional improvement. In 1847, to borrow the language of one of the most illustrious of the Hungarian patriots,* "The opposition in the House of Representatives, under the leadership of Kossuth, obtained a majority: the Magnates were almost equally divided, but the greatest share of talent was evidently on the side of the opposition, who were headed in the House of Magnates by Count Louis Batthyanyi. A general reform of the Hungarian constitution was in progress; the immunity from taxation enjoyed by the nobles was abolished, and the municipal institutions and representation of the towns were in course of revision, when the news arrived that the French revolution had broken out, and France had become a republic."

The occurrence of the French revolution of 1848 proved as unfortunate to Hungary as it has to all the rest of Europe, except Russia. It brought her, a strictly constitutional monarchy and averse to all violent proceedings, into the revolutionary current, and afforded to the Austrian government an opportunity for the overthrow of that constitution which had so long stood between it and the establishment of absolute rule over Hungary. It would be to consume too much time to go into a detail of the events that followed the revolution of 1848, so far as Hungary was concerned. Suffice it to say, that after a variety of negotiations with the Austrian government, in the course of which it had resort to its customary falsehood, the Hungarians were compelled to fight for their nationality and freedom. In the war that ensued, the Austrians, who had invaded Hungary in great masses, and whose triumph was expected as a matter of course throughout the world, were ignominiously beaten; and the independence of Hungary became as well established a matter of fact as it was matter of right. Not the independence of the United States was more thoroughly established by the events of that campaign which ended in the capture of the British army at Yorktown, than was the freedom of Hungary secured, *as against Austria*, by the events of the campaign of the winter and spring of 1849. But for the intervention of Russia in her

* Francis Pulszky.

behalf, Austria would have ceased from that time to rule over Hungary; and the intervention of the Czar Nicholas to reëstablish her ascendancy was as unjust as would have been the intervention of the Czarina Catherine II., in behalf of England, in the war of our Revolution, after events had demonstrated that without foreign aid England could no longer rule over her former colonies in North America. A Russian army entered Hungary, and by its conduct gave success to the revolutionary designs of the house of Austria. Hungary was overrun by more than one hundred thousand Russians, who inflicted upon her all the horrors of barbarian warfare, and whose cannon and sabres and bayonets turned the scale against the cause of right. Russian intervention, and that alone, enabled the cause of absolutism to come victorious out of the contest. Even the arms of Russia would not alone have been sufficient to that end, so energetic was the conduct of the Hungarians, and so devoted were they to their country's cause, had not Russian gold and the sordid envy of one Hungarian been called to their assistance. The last blow that was given to Hungary, and the one which prostrated her cause for the time, proceeded from a traitor, whose name will be gibbeted by history between those of Iscariot and Arnold.

The committee have made this recapitulation of the facts of the Hungarian controversy with the house of Hapsburgh-Lorraine, because they show the character of that controversy; and because, considered together, they go far to prove that Hungary is entitled to the fullest assistance of all peoples who live under constitutional governments. In common parlance, the Hungarian war is spoken of as a war undertaken for the establishment of revolutionary principles, than which nothing can be more incorrect. That war was undertaken by the Hungarians for the maintenance of a constitutional government, the oldest in Europe, and under which great advancement had been made in the direction of freedom, especially during the thirty-three years which elapsed between the general pacification of Europe in 1815, and the commencement of the troubles of 1848. So far as that war was revolutionary in its character, it was so on the part of Austria, which power sought to erect an absolute government on the ruins of the Hungarian constitution; an object which it had diligently labored to accomplish for more than three hundred years. Hence the peculiarly flagitious character of the intervention of Russia. Had the Hungarians been a despotically-governed people, and had they risen against the house of Austria, there might have been, from the Russian point of view, a colorable pretence for intervention on the part of the Czar. In his assumed character of grand conservator of things as they had long existed, and from a desire to maintain the integrity of an empire whose existence was held necessary for the preservation of the equilibrium of Europe, he might have consistently sent his armies to the assistance of a neighbor, and a former ally of Russia, at a critical period of her fortunes. But the Hungarians were not revolutionists. They stood upon their constitutional rights. They could point to the

solemn oaths, and not less solemn promises, of their sovereigns of the Austrian dynasty, in which that constitution and those rights had been recognized and guaranteed. They could point to the loyalty of their ancestors, through which that dynasty had been saved from destruction at the hands of Prussia, and Bavaria, and France. They could appeal to even living members of the Austrian family for the proofs of their stern fidelity in those times when it was thrice placed in the power of Napoleon, to whose offers of the full establishment of their independence of Austrian rule they had turned a deaf ear, because *they* would be guilty of no violation of their oaths, however great the object to be attained, or tempting the occasion. This scrupulous fidelity on their part, unworthy as were the objects of it, and bitter as have been its consequences to them, furnishes the most convincing proof of the excellence of their national character, and shows how safe and profitable it would be to enter into the most intimate alliance with them. It also increases the indignation that must be felt by every liberal mind, that the aim of two great monarchs should be the extinction of the national life of a people so eminently endowed with great and good qualities, and therefore so capable of adding to the happiness of mankind through the unrestricted exercise of their moral powers and intellectual faculties. But no considerations of this kind seem to have had any weight with the Czar of Russia. With an utter disregard of all those principles of action which honorable men consider of the greatest importance, and in violation even of his own avowed principle of action, he sent an army of upwards of one hundred thousand men, not to aid the Emperor of Austria against a revolutionary party among his subjects, but to assist him in a revolutionary attack on the people and institutions of Hungary. The Hungarians were not the enemies of Russia. So far were they from occupying such a position, that it may be said they were even too careful not to give offence to that power. It is believed that at no time throughout the Hungarian war would it have been difficult to cause an insurrection in Russian Poland, whereby ample employment would have for some time been secured for the Czar's armies; and the great man whose name must be forever associated with Hungary's cause has been severely blamed for refusing to allow the adoption of measures which would have been almost certain to have renewed in Poland the events of 1830-31. How this scrupulous forbearance was repaid, is to be seen in the fate of Hungary; in her ruined cities and devastated plains, in her maltreated women, in the seizure of her sons to fill the armies of a despot, in the execution or exile of her heroes and statesmen, and in her subjection to an iron rule. The lesson has been a severe one, but it will not, even at the price which Hungary has paid for it, prove altogether too dear, if it shall convince the peoples of Europe that forbearance to tyrants is itself a deep wrong to humanity. If it should also teach them that they have a common cause,—that Hungarians, Poles, Italians, Frenchmen and Germans, should look upon one another as brethren,—then

will not the cruel deaths of Batthyanyi, Aulich, and other patriots, have been altogether in vain.

The right of every constitutionally-governed country to resist Russia, when she enters upon a crusade against freedom, as she did in 1849, would seem to be a position about which there could be no dispute. Each time that she succeeds in any such enterprise, she not only acquires new power for further undertakings of the same character, but is brought nearer to other nations living within the light of constitutional law. Russia is nearer now to the United States than she was to France in 1799, when she sent her armies, under Suwarrow, to aid in crushing the French republic. Science has almost bridged the ocean, and vastly increased the means of war; and we should always recollect that science is the blind agent of any power which can control it, and that it is as useful in the hands of the despot to destroy, as it is in the hands of the freeman to create and to preserve. Russia is an armed and organized barbarism, but having at her control and command, in all matters of politics and war, everything that is at the service of the most enlightened nations. This it is that renders her so formidable, coupled with the fact that she has succeeded in intimidating almost every other country, through her success in certain great contests in which she was largely favored by circumstances and fortune. She not only has great power, both material and moral, but the world has condescended to rate that power at double its real weight. And to what end is that power directed? To the destruction of free institutions in every part of the world to which it can be made to reach. The attack made on the freedom and nationality of Hungary is far from being the only one made by Russia in the interest of despotism. Sixty years since she destroyed what she and her robber allies had left of Poland, because the king, the nobles, and the people of that country, had all united to form a constitution for it, which promised to be one of the greatest and best instruments of government ever devised by the intellect of man. That great conservative statesman, Edmund Burke, in one of those immortal works with which he sought to warn Europe against what he believed to be the evil spirit of the French revolution, did not hesitate to speak in the highest terms of the constitution formed by the government and people of Poland. The means by which the former chaos of Poland was brought into order, he declared, "were as striking to the imagination, as satisfactory to the reason, and soothing to the moral sentiments. In contemplating that change, humanity sees everything to rejoice and to glory in; nothing to be ashamed of, nothing to suffer. So far as it has gone, it probably is the most pure and defecated public good which ever has been conferred on mankind." Much more to the same purpose did he say, and by way of contrasting the conservative character of the Polish with the destructive character of the French revolution. Yet a few months saw the constitution of Poland overthrown, and that country itself politically destroyed, principally by the armies of Russia, under Suwarrow, and with circumstances more horrible even than those which

marked the invasion and conquest of Hungary. And why was this? It was because Russia was determined upon not allowing any nation to live under free institutions in her vicinity, and because regenerated Poland would have proved a formidable barrier to the realization of her schemes of European aggrandizement.

The attack made by Russia on revolutionized France was caused by her hatred of freedom. Her enmity to Napoleon was owing to his being the chief of that new order of things, the existence of which was incompatible with the continuance of old despotic ideas and forms of government, and which would have prevented the extension of her dominion to the west. Russia was one of the principal movers in that series of events which led to the destruction of the constitutions of Spain and Naples. She even offered, on one occasion, to assist the English government to establish despotism in England.* In 1830, she had concentrated her armies to attack France, in consequence of the revolution of July; but those armies found abundant employment in Poland. In 1815, a large portion of that country had been erected into a kingdom, the crown of which was worn by the Russian Czar. That kingdom had a constitution of a liberal character, time and place considered. The existence of that kingdom was guaranteed by the so-called treaties of Vienna. Repeated violations of the Polish constitution, and the practice of the most lawless tyranny on the part of Russian officials, compelled the Poles to have resort to arms, towards the close of the year 1830. The war that ensued terminated in the conquest of the kingdom of Poland, and the Czar proceeded to act toward that community as his armies have enabled Austria to act toward Hungary; he incorporated it into his empire, in violation of oaths, promises, and obligations of various kinds. The extinction of the little republic of Cracow, also in violation of solemn obligations, both express and implied, must be fresh in the minds of all, and shows that there is no meanness to which the chiefs of the absolutist party are not prepared to stoop, if thereby they can give a blow to the cause of freedom. The same powers which have, for at least a time, struck down the constitution of Hungary, venerable though it was with more than eight centuries of existence, and supported by thirteen millions of people, could also crush the republic of Cracow, with its handful of people, and its life of a day. There is nothing too high for them not to strike, when the blow is also aimed against human rights; nothing so humble that they will refrain from placing their feet upon it, when the act is also a trampling upon the hopes of mankind. The only hope that the world has of being saved from lasting slavery beneath the same yoke

* See the speech of Sir James Mackintosh, in the British House of Commons, February 21, 1821. The offer proceeded from the ministers of the Allied Powers, — the Russian minister being one of the number, — and amounted to a proposition that the British government should adopt a system of measures which would have enabled any ministry to invite into Great Britain an army, for instance, of one hundred thousand Russians or Austrians. To those who are aware of what was the political condition of Europe in 1821, the meaning of the offer of the allied powers to the English government will be sufficiently plain, without our going into a detail of the facts.

that now weighs so heavily on Poland and Hungary, and which threatens both Italy and Germany, is to be found in the union of nations which are both strong and free, and whose stern resolution will be found as paralyzing to the Russian Czar, as the hand-writing on the wall was to the impious Belshazzar, who thought he could defy God, and was crushed for his blasphemy. It is the want of union among constitutionally-governed countries that has given so much weight to a power like Russia,—far more than her victories, the extension of her territory, and the skill of her diplomacy. She has had the art to avail herself of the prejudices which such nations have felt towards each other, which they now feel towards each other; prejudices growing out of circumstances having no connection with the present condition of the world, prejudices which should be buried in the graves of the men whose acts called them into being.

His Excellency the Governor, in his annual address, with calm wisdom, observes, "We cannot, in any view of the subject, quietly submit to the absorption of the smaller states by the larger, and the final subjection of all to two or three allied despotisms. Such a movement would not only be fatal to our commerce, but to the general industry and free principles of America." These words embody what must be the sentiments of every enlightened mind in America. Let the now clearly pronounced designs of Russia in Europe be crowned with success, and all that is revered or esteemed by the people of the United States will be placed in a condition of imminent peril. The entire material power of the continent would be at the control of two or three royal or imperial families, and would be directed, in the first instance, against England, and then against ourselves. The fear was expressed by a great American statesman, that if Napoleon should succeed in his supposed designs to subdue all Europe, continental and insular, he would turn his arms against the United States; but there were two things that would have rendered the great emperor's sway over all Europe a matter of far less consequence to us than would be the complete ascendancy of Russia there at the present time. First, Napoleon was a new man, and any blow which told against him was sure to overthrow the political system of which he is the embodiment. The history of the last years of his reign shows that his power was personal, almost entirely so. It is different with the Russian Czar. He is the chief of a system that, under various phases, has endured for a thousand years; and, were he to meet with many military defeats, that system would still be powerful. Were he to die, that system would not experience any great shock. The change would be one of men, not of principles. No conceivable change could have placed a greater man in Napoleon's place; a change of sovereigns might put on the throne of Russia a far greater and more ambitious and more dangerous man than even the harsh and energetic person who now occupies it. Secondly, steam navigation was almost unknown down even to the fall of Napoleon; ocean steam navigation, altogether so. The effect of this was, that the various parts of Europe were far

more distant from each other than they now are, and that that quarter of the world was three times as distant from us as it now is. These two things make the present condition of America, considered with reference to the effect of European action on it, far different from what it was forty years ago; and prove that dangers may grow out of the successes of Russia to us, that would not have followed from the ascendancy of Napoleon, had it been maintained. Further, we are to consider that Napoleon's rule was that of an enlightened chief of one of the most highly-cultivated peoples of Europe; while the Czar, if enlightened himself, is the head of an empire the bulk of whose population is composed of barbarians: that all Napoleon's conquests and wars led only to the spread of new ideas, and were accomplished by a democracy made more efficient for military purposes by the temporary adoption of imperial forms; while the wars and conquests of Russia are made for the maintenance and spread of old political ideas, and for the destruction of democracy. The difference between the two cases is one of vital importance, and shows in a striking light the folly of those who banded together to strike down liberal France, in the last generation, when no other result could follow therefrom, except to make the way clear for the ultimate ascendancy, over all Europe, of despotic and barbarous Russia.

Not only would the people of the United States see with indignation attempts made by two or three great powers to destroy the independence of the lesser states of Europe, but they would view with the deepest feeling of which men are capable any hostile demonstrations that such powers might make against their ancestral land,—that land from which American liberty was drawn, and which is now the sole depository of the liberty of Europe, as it has more than once heretofore been,—*England*. No greater misfortune could befall the human race than would be involved in the successful invasion of England by the mercenaries of the continent,—men whose ferocity and total incapacity to comprehend the merits of any political quarrel have been so abundantly proved during the last four years in Hungary and Italy, in Germany and France, at Raab and at Brescia, at Paris and at Rome. England is the leading country of that system of civilization which stands in direct opposition to the despotic system of which Russia is the chief and the representative. The two powers, therefore, it should seem, must one day—and that no very distant one—come into collision. In such contest, Russia would have substantially all the “material aid” of the continental states at her disposal; for those states have, even now, for their rulers, men who can scarcely claim any higher character than that of Russian pro-consuls. Would England be equal to contending with success against a combination of powers so strong, all directed and controlled by one mighty mind, the chief of which has rarely known defeat, and whose defeats have been more profitable than the victories of other men? Highly as the committee think of the genius and valor of the great English race, and aware though they be that on no field of battle has it ever given way before

the soldiers of the continent, when its members were present in anything like fair proportion of numbers, they cannot believe that England would maintain herself against odds so tremendous. Even if she should do so, the effect of a successful struggle, one that should have so terribly tasked her energies, would probably be to leave her in a condition so feeble as to prevent her from ever again assuming that place which she now holds in the Pentarchy of Europe. The interest of the world, therefore, requires that she should not be exposed to the risks of any such struggle. And how can that be prevented? By the adoption, on the part of the United States, of a broad and liberal and comprehensive foreign policy, which should make of them and the British empire one great nation, whenever the interests of constitutional nations are assailed — or rather threatened — by the fleets and armies of despotism. A union of America and England would not only prevent the spread of despotic power, but it would also be a sure guarantee of the preservation of the peace of the world. No combination of the continental powers would ever think of assailing a country protected by the fleets of two such nations as Great Britain and the United States; countries which not only possess already so powerful national marines, but whose commercial navies alone are capable of furnishing greater means of maritime warfare than those of all the rest of the world beside. How far England is now in danger of attack, or how far she may be exposed to it in the future, are points which it would take up too much time to discuss; but, when we recollect that every other constitutionally-governed state in Europe, of any importance, has been compelled to come under absolute rule, from the fear, on the part of the enemies of constitutional liberty, of the effect of their example; that the effect of the example of England has long been felt to be bad by the chiefs of the absolutists, and that her allowing political refugees to live in her midst has been, and is, a source of annoyance and danger to them; that her press is alone free, in the Old World, and, by the ability with which it is conducted and the severity of its comments, gives offence to every sovereign on the continent of Europe, from the Czar of Russia to the Prince President of France; — when these things are recollected, it is by no means unreasonable to suppose that an attack may be made on England, by the princes and bureau-crats who have succeeded so fully in destroying freedom from the Atlantic to the Niemen. At this time, no small number of her people are impressed with the belief that danger is to be apprehended from enslaved France. It is true that the personage at the head of the French government (perhaps we should say, who is the government of France) has declared that he entertains no intention of making war on any country; but, unfortunately, not less for his reputation than for the quiet of his neighbors, he is known to be the very incarnation of perjury. Neither oaths nor promises, nor that desire to stand well with the world and in history which should be doubly strong with the possessor of the greatest of modern names, had any weight with him when his supposed interest stood in opposition to them. For the brief enjoy-

ment of absolute power, he was content to stand before the world an unblushing falsifier of every oath he had taken, of every direct or implied pledge which he had made. Against the attacks of such a man, who has a great army and a formidable navy at his command, not one of his neighbors can for a moment consider herself safe. England, in a particular manner, is liable to be attacked by him, not only from the fact that she is a sort of place of arms, from which a moral war is carried on against his power, but because her great wealth would afford a fine field for plunder to an army that has showed how lawless is its spirit, and how ready it is to blindly obey any orders it may receive from the dictator of France. Old national rivalries can be easily rekindled by the exertions of unprincipled writers in the service of equally unprincipled statesmen.

To prevent an attack on England by the continental powers, or by any one of their number who is in a situation to make such an attack with effect, would be not only an act of duty, but one of mere wisdom, on the part of the United States. The loss which would follow to this country, from only the temporary occupation of England by a foreign army, would be immense — almost incalculable. So intimate are the mere ties of interest — using the word in its narrowest and most restricted sense — between the two great constitutionally-governed countries of the world, that the one cannot suffer an injury of a serious character, without the other sharing largely in the evil. This alone would, in the opinion of the committee, be sufficient reason for the interference of the United States to prevent an attack on England by the autocrats and stratocrats of the continent. Our interest demands that England should not be assailed by powers having no other object in view than the overthrow of constitutional liberty and the destruction of commerce. But there is another — a higher and a better — reason why the people of the United States should regard a causeless attack on England, by either France or Russia, as an attack on themselves. England is the nation which has done more than any other country to preserve the spirit and the practice of freedom. Without her history, ours could never have had an existence. Her language and her literature are ours. The men who founded the American nation were the contemporaries of the men who vindicated and established the liberties of England. If, in after days, ill feeling arose between the two countries, which manifested itself through the last resort of peoples and kings, it was the consequence of an attempt that was made by the government of England to introduce a new line of policy into that country, in which but a small portion of the English people had any part. Against this is to be set off the noble exertions of such men as Chatham, Fox, Burke, Barré, Conway, and many others, who contended, not without success, for the rights of the people of both England and America. The unjust attacks that were made on our commerce, and the seizure of our seamen, by officials acting under the direction of the British government, during the wars that grew out of the French revolution, were always condemned by some of the

best public men of Britain; and they were defended only on the ground of necessity, by those who ordered them. For almost forty years the two countries have been at peace with each other; and, in spite of the exertions of prejudiced or ignorant writers to keep alive feelings of hostility between them, they have learned to esteem one another, and to measurably comprehend that they have a common duty to perform,—that, namely, of promoting the cause of freedom by the force of their example, and, if in the order of God's providence it shall become necessary, by the force of those arms which have rarely found a position which they could not carry or defend.

The committee will not speak at length of the connection that exists between free institutions and great and lucrative commerce. Undoubtedly there have been nations in which commerce has existed in connection with arbitrary government of some form or other; but it is a truism that commerce flourishes best where it is most free, and it cannot be free in nations where arbitrary power exists. America largely depends upon her commerce for her greatness, and for the happiness of her people. That commerce would be vastly increased, were the nations of Europe blessed with free and stable governments; it must be decreased, or at least its increase be prevented, if those nations shall be doomed to exist under tyrannies during the remainder of the present century. This is a view of the subject which we have the right to take into consideration, and which may have more weight with some minds than those higher motives that would seem to point to the adoption of a nobler foreign policy on the part of the American republic than it has hitherto pursued,—a policy more in accordance with its position among great communities, more worthy of the principles which it professes to reverence, and more expressive of that gratitude to Heaven which is not more due from individuals than from nations, and which finds its only proper expression on the part of nations in wise and noble endeavors to promote the glory of God through the advancement of man's estate.

The committee, in the strongest manner that can be done, disclaim any intention of reflecting on the conduct of those eminent men who, sixty years since, labored with success to secure for their country all the real or supposed advantages that followed from the adoption of the policy of neutrality at a time when all the rest of Christendom was engaged in a war of opinion. For the character of Washington the committee entertain that reverential regard which is felt by all Americans; nor do they believe that, in recommending action calculated to aid the oppressed, to extend freedom, and to rebuke despotism, they are doing that which would be condemned by Washington himself, were he to revisit a world which he did so much to redeem from slavery. The policy which Washington adopted was not the result of any particular degree of sagacity applied to the management of foreign affairs, nor was it the result of a deliberate choice between two courses of action which the then government could select from. That government had no choice in the matter. The policy which it pur-

sued grew out of the necessities of the case; it followed, both practically and logically, from the position of the country and the state of the times. Yet it was far from satisfying the people of the United States; and it would seem to be the opinion of most men of eminence who have treated of that important period of our history, that nothing but the hold which Washington had upon the affections of the people gave it success. It was the man who saved the policy, not the policy that aided the man. Even his popularity — a popularity, it is probable, greater and better founded than that of any other man mentioned in history — received some rude shocks in consequence of the deep-seated belief in the popular mind that we were bound to aid France to achieve her freedom, as she had aided us to achieve ours; whereas, by the conclusion of the treaty of 1794, with Great Britain, commonly known as Jay's Treaty, we were placed in an attitude of almost open war with the people of France. There are men now living who remember the disgust and abhorrence with which the news of that treaty was received throughout the nation; and nowhere more so than in Boston, where the Revolutionary spirit burned strongly. "It was fortunate for the country at this crisis," says a writer friendly to the policy pursued by Washington's administration, "that to a firmness which nothing could shake, to patriotism which never weighed popularity in the scale of duty, and to discernment which placed in its true light the character of our political relations, the president united the strongest hold upon the confidence and affections of the people at large which any man, perhaps, ever justly gained; for without it, his judgment, in the excited state of the public mind, would not have been respected, and his firmness would but have involved himself and his policy in ruin."* The learned historian of American diplomacy,† after speaking highly of the treaty itself, says that its ratification was "the first act of the government that proved the stability of the federal constitution. It was a severe trial; and the steadiness with which the shock was borne may be attributed, in some degree, to the personal character of the president." It would, the committee think, be nearer the truth to say that the success of the ratification was due solely to the personal character of the president, as the regard in which he was held gave pause to the opposition which was made to the treaty, and thus enabled the neutral policy to become solidly established. Under the presidency of any other man, that policy and the Union would have gone to wreck together.

In making up an opinion as to the causes of the success of the foreign policy adopted in 1793, we should recollect that most people of that time were convinced that upon the fate of Washington's ad-

* *Memoirs of the Administrations of Washington and John Adams, &c.*, by George Gibbs, vol. i., p. 207.

† Lyman, *The Diplomacy of the United States*, vol. i., p. 208. Mr. Lyman says of Jay's Treaty that "its principal advantage consisted in its having decided the question of neutrality; if it settled none of the leading questions of neutral rights, it at least prevented a war at a moment when the government and nation were in every respect unprepared, — in itself an infinite benefit." Vol. i., p. 207.

ministration depended the fate of the Union. To resist any measure that the administration deemed for the public welfare, and that administration headed by George Washington, was what not a few men who had strong sympathies with France could not make up their minds to do, when it was clear that if the administration should fail there would be an end to the government under the new constitution, perhaps an extinguishment of all hopes for the formation of any *national* government in North America. Men who had no love for the foreign policy which the government saw fit to favor, or was forced to favor, were not prepared to aid in ruining their country, in order to bring about the adoption of a different kind of foreign policy. They knew that the effect of their carrying their opposition to extremes would be to destroy constitutional freedom in America, without in the slightest degree aiding the cause of European liberty. Hence their acquiescence in measures growing out of a policy which they could not approve in itself. It was not the first time, nor the last, in which American citizens sacrificed their individual opinions for the advancement of what was believed to be the general good.

However well adapted the neutrality policy was to the condition of the republic in 1793, there is no reason for believing that it would be found equally good, were the people of Europe to rise once more against tyrants, and seek the establishment of their rights, or were resistance to be made to the spread of Russian dominion. Times and circumstances have vastly changed since the day (April 22d), now almost sixty years, when the proclamation of neutrality was put forth. Then our population was only about four millions; now it is twenty-four millions. Then the states were but fifteen in number; now they number thirty-one. Then the only part of the country which could have contributed anything toward carrying on a war was a narrow strip of land on the Atlantic, shut up between the ocean and the forest, the former covered with the fleets of England, and the latter filled with savages in her pay or under her influence; now the country is settled far beyond the great rivers of the west, and cities owning its sway are fast rising to opulence on the shores of the Pacific. Then we literally had *no* national marine, and our mercantile marine was, comparatively speaking, small; now our navy is great, and our commerce is not far behind that of Great Britain. Then our government was but an experiment, and many believed that the Union would soon fall to pieces; now that government has endured for almost sixty years without having called for the sacrifice of one human life, and the danger is, not that the Union will be disturbed, but that our devotion to it will cause us to overlook the importance and deserts of the states, to neglect local matters in our regard for those national in their character, to forget state rights in our love of centralization. Then we had not been tried either by war or by bitter political conflicts at home, under the new system; now we have been through two severe foreign wars, and have had a score of hard yet bracing and bloodless contests at home. Then we were poor; now we are rich.

Then we were weak; now we are strong. Then we were behind even Venice in political importance; now we are one of the three or four powers that can alone assert their independence. This changed state of affairs has brought with it new duties. We cannot, if we would, remain out of the influence of the great international politics of the world. We cannot be indifferent to the proceedings of nations that are only from twelve to twenty days' sail of us, which have great armies at their control, and great fleets in which to transport those armies to our shores, should they, having conquered all their foes at home, deem it proper to destroy the source of so many heresies — as they consider them — as for three-quarters of a century have been spread over the earth from America. We cannot be indifferent to the spread of Russian dominion over Europe. We cannot be indifferent to attacks on England, when commerce, language, all the ties of interest and affection, call upon us in imperative tones to sustain her against the assaults of absolutism. We may seek to isolate ourselves; we may strive to imitate that Japanese policy which we are told it is the intention of our government to reform at the mouths of the cannon of our ocean steamers; we may assert that the gift of prosperity unparalleled, which we daily own is the work of Heaven, has brought with it no corresponding duties, no obligation to make any return for it; — but the popular mind *will* not be forever bound by chains derived from the distant past, a period as much unfit to give law to the present as the age of the Pilgrims was to give law to the period of the Revolution. It requires no great amount of knowledge to be aware that a vast change has already been had. Within four years the ordinary work of a generation has been performed, a feat not unworthy of an age that has made of steam and electricity its two most useful slaves. A similar change in the next four years would place our country at the head of the liberalized portion of the world. There is no reason to suppose that it will not take place. Shall not Massachusetts do her part in bringing it about? Such a work would be worthy of that old commonwealth which led the way, not only to the American Revolution, but through it, and thus was foremost in the earlier of those movements which have ever since had so potent an effect on human destinies.

The committee agree with the suggestion made by his Excellency the Governor, that while it would seem to be proper for our government to give Austria and Russia notice that we assert on our part a right to interfere in favor of republican or constitutional governments if they assert the right of interference against freedom, we should reserve to “ourselves, of course, the power to judge of circumstances and the necessity of interference as events transpire.” It would be unwise for the United States to attempt intervention in the affairs of any part of the world, no matter how just the cause in which a people might be engaged who should demand intervention at their hands, unless they had the power to make their action important. Power should exist as well as good will, to make our interference of

any account. It would be only to injure ourselves, without benefiting others, were we to attempt interference without being equal to making our acts accord with our diplomatic language. Nations which attempt more than they can perform are sure to compromise their dignity, and to expose themselves to insult. But we should not insist upon waiting for the appearance of another generation, before we take our proper place among the leading nations of the world. We have the power at this moment to perform a great part in the transaction of important affairs; and the recollection of the manner in which their country was redeemed from a condition of colonial vassalage cannot fail to cause Americans to consider themselves bound, so far as they honestly can, to aid peoples who are engaged in contending for their rights. The contest that eventuated in the establishment of American independence was not a mere struggle for local freedom. It was destined to have, and has had, a most important effect on the subsequent life of Christendom. In the soul-moving language of one whose name stands high in our literature, and who is engaged in worthily relating the history of our fathers,—“The authors of the American Revolution avowed for their object the welfare of mankind, and believed that they were in the service of their own and of all future generations. Their faith was just; for the world of mankind does not exist in fragments, nor can a country have an insulated existence. All men are brothers, and all are bondsmen for one another. All nations, too, are brothers, and each is responsible for that federative humanity which puts the ban of exclusion on none. New principles of government could not assert themselves in one hemisphere without affecting the other. The very idea of the progress of an individual people, in its relation to universal history, springs from the acknowledged unity of the race.”*

The Committee recommend the adoption of the following Resolves.

For the Committee,

CHARLES C. HAZEWELL, *Chairman.*

RESOLVES IN RELATION TO NATIONAL INTERVENTION.

1st. That every nation has the right to adopt such form of government as may seem to it best calculated to advance those ends for which all governments are in theory established.

2d. That the Hungarian nation, in the years 1848 and 1849, was engaged in a proper and legitimate political movement, having for its object the improvement and extension of free institutions, and was therefore entitled to the sympathy of the people of every country who were themselves living in the enjoyment of those blessings which alone flow from such institutions.

3d. That the intervention of the Czar of Russia in the contest between the people of Hungary and the house of Hapsburgh-Lorraine

* Bancroft, History of the United States, vol. iv., pp. 5, 6.

was an act in gross violation of the law of nations, and ought to have been more seriously considered by every nation interested in the maintenance of constitutional liberty.

4th. That we deeply sympathize with the oppressed people of Hungary and with those Hungarians who are in exile, and that we hope and trust that the vindication of Hungarian rights by Hungarian arms will restore the exile to his country, and his country to freedom; and that the United States would, in our opinion, be justified in making use of all proper means to advance an end so strictly in accordance with the principles of justice and humanity.

5th. That the part borne by Louis Kossuth in the great struggle for the preservation of the nationality of Hungary, and the political rights of the Hungarian people, entitles him to the regard and confidence of all lovers of freedom; and we rejoice that he does not despair of his country's restoration, but directs the whole power of his great mind to the advancement of that hour when Hungary shall stand before the world a nation free from Austrian tyranny, and constitutionally governed.

6th. That the Czar of Russia, in giving up to judicial butchery those Hungarian patriots who surrendered to his armies, was guilty of an infamous act, revolting alike to the laws of God and the dictates of common humanity, which ranks him even beneath the Emperor of Austria, by whom they were put to death; they having never injured the former potentate, and having fought against the latter only in defence of their historical and inalienable rights, and to prevent him from establishing a despotism over their country.

7th. That it is the duty and the interest of all constitutionally-governed nations to cultivate the most intimate relations with each other, to the end that, should the emergency arise, they may the more easily combine their powers to repel the attacks of despots.

8th. That copies of these Resolves be sent to our Senators and Representatives in Congress, and that they be requested to make use of all proper means to advance the ends which they recommend and the principles they embody.

RESOLUTIONS ON INTERVENTION adopted by the Democratic District Convention at Middleboro', Mass., Dec. 31, 1852, referred to by Kossuth in his speech at Fall River.

Resolved, That the doctrine that every nation has the right of determining, changing or modifying, its own institutions, without let or hindrance from other nations, is so manifestly true that no republican can deny it, and it ought to be declared a fundamental principle in the laws of nations.

Resolved, That the application of Governor Kossuth to the government of the United States, to make a declaration of this principle, is only reasonable, and ought to be granted.

Resolved, That the principles of the governments of Russia and America are antipodal; — that America has as much interest in maintaining republicanism as Russia has in maintaining despotism, and an equal right to do it; and if the people of America believe republicanism more conducive to the well-being and happiness of mankind, they are bound in duty to do it.

Resolved, That that policy which was wise and prudent when our nation was small and weak may not be prudent and wise when we have become great and strong, and that duty is always commensurate with ability; and the greatest good of mankind should be the object of our policy.

Resolved, That inasmuch as our example has lured on the votaries of liberty in other lands to peril their all that they may enjoy the happiness of our freedom, it is worse than a mockery, it is downright niggardness, in us, not to make some sacrifice to aid them, when they call to us so piteously and we can do it so easily.

Resolved, That in our opinion a united declaration of America and England of the principle of the right of every nation to manage its own affairs would have the same effect to prevent intervention in the affairs of European states that it had in the case of the states of South America, and would thereby conserve the peace of Europe. But,

Resolved, That should it not have this effect, there would be declared such a state of affairs, and such a determination of despots, as should arouse all the nations possessing constitutional freedom to the necessity of preparing for their own defence.

Resolved, That America cannot be indifferent to European affairs. Her example is influencing the nations of the earth, and she can no longer be regarded with indifference by despots, for they plainly see that they can have no peace while she exists; either they or she must go down, and the struggle is at hand. Where shall that struggle take place? — Shall America wait till Europe is Cossack, and the theatre of action is transferred to our own shores? — or, shall she but let the light of her countenance encourage on the votaries of freedom, to fight her and their battles far away on the shores of Europe? The answer to Governor Kossuth's appeal will decide.

RESOLUTIONS OF VERMONT.

STATE OF VERMONT.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, Rutland, Jan. 1, 1852.

SIR :

I have the honor herewith to transmit to you a copy of the resolutions passed by the General Assembly of this state.

A deep and hearty sympathy with the people of every state, struggling to establish and maintain a separate existence among the nations

of the earth, would naturally be felt by the people of Vermont, who owe their separate existence to a similar struggle. A detestation of every attempt from a foreign power, either to crush their exertions, or to interfere with their internal regulations, would be the natural feelings of the people of this state, when they remember their early history. No one can doubt their sincerity in welcoming you to the land of Ethan Allen, who was the first to demand the surrender of a fort in the name of the Continental Congress, and who bit asunder the irons designed to manacle his limbs, and subdue his feelings of independence and freedom.

I assure you it gives me great pleasure to be the instrument of conveying to you these wishes; and it would give me still greater pleasure personally to welcome and receive you on the soil of a state whose boast is, that they have ever been among the foremost to resist oppression, and to extend their sympathy and their aid to every people who assert the rights to which "nature and nature's God entitle them."

With the highest respect, I have the honor to be your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

CHARLES K. WILLIAMS,
[Governor of Vermont.]

To his Excellency, GOVERNOR LOUIS KOSSUTH.

Resolution of welcome to Louis Kossuth, late Governor of Hungary :

Whereas, it is understood that Louis Kossuth, late Governor of Hungary, is about to visit the United States of America; therefore,

Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives, That we, in behalf of the people of Vermont, bid him welcome to our Green Mountain State, as a patriot and statesman worthy of a home in the land of the free.

The above is a true copy of a resolution adopted by the General Assembly of Vermont, on the 19th day of November, A. D. 1851.

J. J. MERRILL, *Secretary of State.*

RESOLUTIONS OF RHODE ISLAND.

STATE OF RHODE ISLAND, &C.

IN GENERAL ASSEMBLY, Providence, Jan. Session, 1852.

Whereas Louis Kossuth, the elected chief magistrate of the Hungarian nation, is now the invited guest of the United States; and whereas this General Assembly recognize in him the undaunted champion, under the most adverse circumstances, of national freedom and political equality, as well as the eloquent apostle of those great doctrines of civil and religious liberty on which the colonization of this state was founded, and the enlightened exponent of those municipal institutions, on the

full development of which the perpetuity of our own union depends ; and whereas this General Assembly feel assured that the people deeply sympathize in the disasters of Hungary, effected by the intervention of foreign despotism, and that they earnestly desire to evince their respect for the virtues and talents of the illustrious Magyar, and to manifest their lively interest in the ultimate triumph of his country ;

Resolved, That this General Assembly do, in the name and on behalf of the people of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, invite Louis Kossuth to visit Providence, as the guest of the state, during their present session.

Resolved, That a committee of three members of the Senate and five members of the House of the Representatives be appointed to make the necessary arrangements for the reception of Governor Kossuth.

Resolved, That his Excellency the Governor be requested to transmit a copy of the foregoing resolutions, duly authenticated under the seal of the state, to Governor Kossuth.

True copy, witness.

ASA POTTER, *Secretary of State*.

STATE OF RHODE ISLAND.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, Providence, Jan. 16, 1852.

SIR :

I have the pleasure to transmit to you a certified copy of the resolutions of the Legislature of this state, now in session at Providence. The same will be handed to you by Welcome B. Sayles, Esq., who has been appointed a special messenger for that purpose.

I am, respectfully, your obedient servant,

PHILIPS ALLEN, *Governor*.

TO GOVERNOR KOSSUTH.

SPEECH OF HON. CHARLES ANDREWS, OF MAINE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES,

FEBRUARY 25, 1852,

ON THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE LEGISLATURE OF THE STATE OF MAINE,

TENDERING

SYMPATHY TO LOUIS KOSSUTH,

Condemning the unwarrantable intervention of Russia in the affairs of Hungary, and asking the influence of the United States against all such intervention in future.

MR. SPEAKER: I had the honor to present to this House, some two weeks since, the following Resolutions, passed by the Legislature of Maine, on the 16th day of January last :

“*Resolved*, That in Louis Kossuth we recognize a distinguished representative of freedom and constitutional liberty ; and that his Excellency the Governor be requested to extend to him a cordial invitation to visit the capital of this state.

“*Resolved*, That we tender to Louis Kossuth the assurance that we entertain a sincere sympathy for the wrongs of Hungary, and a deep detestation of the despotic tyranny of Austria, and the unwarrantable intervention of Russia.

“*Resolved*, That we earnestly desire that the General Government of the United States may exert an influence in some wise and proper manner against all such intervention in future.”

I am proud of the position Maine occupies upon this question, as having boldly taken the lead in the noble ranks of patriotic states. It is the bold position inscribed upon her coat of arms, “*Dirigo*.” She has never yet disgraced it. Her position upon this question, I have little doubt, as a principle, will eventually lead to the political regeneration of broken Hungary, and the further spread of republican principles in Europe.

I am proud of the generous magnanimity of my native state, when I see her, unsolicited, through the representatives of her people, and by her decided vote, bare her sinewy arm for the oppressed of mankind, and against her own pecuniary interest in the improbable event of war ; thus causing the dictates of a world-wide patriotism to control the grovelling passion of selfishness.

If there is one state in this confederacy that would feel more than another the effects of war, it is Maine. Her extended seaboard, unprotected save by the hardy inhabitants upon the coast ; her immense interest in navigation ; her ship-building, in magnitude of tonnage far before either of her sister states ; in short, her every source of business, is in the most exposed condition : but the Legislature looked upon such resolutions as sufficient to direct the attention of Congress and the nation to the subject-matter, and any just resolutions as insufficient to drive Russia into a war upon the subject of Hungary, as it must likewise involve her in a struggle with the leading and many of the smaller powers of Europe.

The language of the resolutions is chaste and prudent, and the sentiments calm, dignified, and manly.

They are calculated, at least, to arouse in the minds of members of this House the importance of the principles involved, and to lead to a careful review of the whole subject-matter.

Mr. Speaker, the agent of the scattered Hungarians, Governor Kossuth, is now with us. He came as the nation’s guest, and has been treated by the great mass of our people as became the nation, and as was due the man. It was at one time much to be regretted that such sensitiveness was exhibited upon the part of many of our southern friends ; for it bore so strong a resemblance to unreasonable jealousy, that it took a mind quite as free from distrust as my own to be satisfied that it was only being a “little sensitive.”

Governor Kossuth, independent of being invited to this country, occupies the same honorable position here as Dr. Franklin occupied in France in the perilous times of our own Revolutionary struggle, only that his case is a much plainer one. He solicits this nation to join

Great Britain in intervention in behalf of his country, and at the same time is preparing for war, if it must come, by gathering the *materiel*. His mission is an honorable one, and he is worthy of his mission.

Paid editors may traduce him through their mercenary journals, and such politicians as choose can aid in the work; but they cannot make him otherwise than the wonderful man of the times, and apparently destined for the mighty mission he is so rapidly accomplishing.

Who has seen him, but to be won by his child-like simplicity, the frankness of his manners, and his unostentatious but devoted piety?

Who has read his speeches, but has admired the wonderful sagacity and prudence with which he treats all subjects, wounding the feelings of no one — pleasing all? And who has heard him speak, but was electrified and astounded, if not convinced, by his lofty flights, his bold metaphors, his unanswerable logic?

He seems to possess the purity of a Washington, the sagacity of a Jefferson, and more than Websterian combination and logic; while his eloquence is purely his own,—*calm, gentle, enticing, commanding*.

Determined, desperate and cruel, have been the means used to prejudice the American people against his mission; but the influence of his pure doctrine leaps from mind to mind as through the unseen channels of magnetism. Stay his influence!

“ Canst thou bind the sweet influence of the Pleiades? ”

Louis Kossuth is destined to occupy the choicest niche in the temple of fame, for this age of the world.

Mr. Speaker, the second resolution refers to a land teeming with the liveliest interest from the earliest history of its people.

Tracing the annals of history, we find that the Magyars, or Hungarians, were so called by the Russians, and other Slavonians. Their true origin is not known. The older writers derive them from the Huns of Attila,—some suppose them the descendants of the Fins; but their own great antiquarian, Fejer (keeper of the library of Pesth), derives them from the Parthians.

They were first known upon the broad land of the Turan, in Asia, a small band, with a fixed resolution to emigrate, and push their way westward into eastern Europe. Before starting, they proceeded to *elect* a chief or prince, and *formed a constitution limiting his power*; and thus, as early as the last of the seventh century, we find this people exercising a right which not only evinced their sagacity, but showed their great discretion and love of liberty.

Just what that constitution was, which was made the guide for their prince and people, it is not possible to ascertain; but it became the foundation of a constitution afterwards adopted, and will be referred to.

Thus, at this age of the world, we find this people about to leave the broad plains of Asia, their early home, and the home of their fathers, patriotically forming a *compact*, and making themselves into a nation, to be governed by liberal principles,—at an age, too, when all

republics had gone to decay, and political darkness shrouded the whole earth.

After leaving Asia, they first occupied the country lying between the Don and Dnieper for two hundred years. In 894 they entered Hungary, under their prince Almus, and in 900 made the conquest complete, under Arpad, son of Almus, having subdued the Bulgarians, Slavonians, Moravians, Germans, Italians and Croatians, with others that then occupied it; thus establishing their reputation for indomitable courage and perseverance, which they have not lost by time or oppression.

In the distribution of the territory thus won, the common soldier came in for his *share*, wherever daring, courage, or other superior merit, was found.

This was done without regard to rank, not only as an act of justice, but to establish the noble principle that rank and birth were to have no particular favor with the stern Hungarian warrior or his people.

From 900 to 1000, nothing of particular note transpired, save the gradual introduction of the arts of peace, agriculture and manufactures; and that Geysa, the grandson of Arpad, introduced Christianity, which was violently opposed, and made but little progress till after his death.

Stephen, the son of Geysa, was the first King of Hungary, and was crowned in the year 1000. Stephen, in fact, was the founder of the kingdom, and one of the ablest and best monarchs Europe ever produced. He remodelled the constitution, and gave form and symmetry to its rough beauties, and enlarged the liberties of the people by important changes in the social compact.

At this period we are enabled to get at the Hungarian constitution; and, although novel to us in some of its features, yet when we reflect that this was an age of barbarism, at or near the time when political darkness commenced its reign over the face of Europe,—a darkness that fell like a pall upon the energies of every other nation,—all must be struck with admiration at the genius, the justice, and the greatness of the man who, under such circumstances, was quietly giving to his people a constitution of checks and balances, showing great wisdom and a strong republican tendency.

In the progress of her polity subsequently, we find Hungary, like our own government, was composed of three distinct branches, the one a check upon the other. First, the King. Second, the Diet, or Congress, composed of two Houses, the upper and lower. The upper house comprised the dignitaries of the Greek Church and Roman clergy, and the magnates or hereditary nobility. The lower house was composed of the inferior nobles (not hereditary); ecclesiastical chapters, by their representatives; also, by representatives of the free towns, towns that had been *enfranchised* for some eminent service of war or peace. And, thirdly, by a Judiciary; the Tavernicus, being the president of the Court of Appeal. Another feature worthy of particular note is, that the Palatine, or President of the upper house, was chosen by the Diet from four candidates named by the king, and be-

longing to any order of the state. This officer ranked next to the king, was regent, and appointed the generalissimo of the armies. The king was *chosen* for life. Instead of being king by birth, he was elected by the Diet, which right was always exercised. They frequently changed the line of succession to another branch of the family, and even created a new dynasty. Thus came the power first in the house of Hapsburgh.

The powers of the king were limited. He could not declare war without the consent of the Diet, nor could he levy taxes without the consent of the free towns. In case of disagreement, the Diet decided.

The nobility were compelled to fight the battles of their country, if war was legally declared.

Beyond this, showing the wisdom of these people at an early age, we find the united Greek Church sent their delegates to the Diet, and that religious toleration was guaranteed to the nation, and ever after maintained.

After the close of Stephen's reign, about thirty different sovereigns reigned over Hungary, up to the revolution of 1848, all of whom were elected by the Diet. The administration of each was guided and controlled by the constitution of Stephen, and the subsequent changes therein, as the fundamental law of the nation.

She was engaged in various wars, the most remarkable of which was with the Turks, covering much of the time from 1526 to 1716; and but for the power and skill of the Hungarian armies, it is more than probable that the *Koran* would have supplanted the *Holy Scriptures*, and the faith of Mahomet been the religion of all continental Europe at this day.

At all times, throughout a period of more than eight and a half centuries, Hungary maintained inviolate the great democratic principle, that every man has a right to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience.

Here I would remark that, in the year 1367, King Louis I. established the first high school for *general education*, at the *expense of the state*; and such has been the progress of education throughout Hungary, "that [says Paget in a late history] *nine-tenths of the whole* population can read and write in *one or two* languages;" thus establishing, beyond a doubt, the diffusion of intelligence among the people equal to any in Europe, and in advance of our own at the formation of our government, if not now.

In 1848 uneasiness prevailed among the people of Hungary. Yet, notwithstanding their king had been elected by the Diet from the house of Hapsburgh from the year 1687 to that time, they did not ask the entire overthrow of their limited monarchy; but they asked, with burning eloquence, for redress of grievances, and an extension of liberty to the masses.

The court of Vienna yielded, or pretended to yield, to the just request of the Diet and people, which caused universal rejoicings throughout the kingdom, little thinking of the treachery and fraud to be afterwards practised upon them.

The history of the bloody and treacherous onslaught upon devoted Hungary, the unwarrantable interference of despotic Russia, the horrid cruelties perpetrated upon Hungarian men, women and children, the treachery of a Gorgey, the fearful brutalities of "the butcher" Haynau, are all too fresh in the memories of this House and the American people to need one word of comment.

Up to this time Hungary was one of the important nations of Europe. For more than eight hundred years her people had occupied the same territory; had maintained her nationality; had progressed in all the useful arts and sciences; had diffused throughout the kingdom an almost universal elementary education, and had kept alive, as a "holy fire," that germ of liberty that animated the breasts of their fathers far away upon the plains of Asia, at the birth of their nation.

Her physical and political resources exhibit a people amply able to support their position in the great family of nations.

I take the following statistics from the speech of Mr. Webster at the dinner given to Kossuth in this city, as they are accurately prepared, and support my position.

The following enumeration of the races that constitute the population of Hungary is taken from one of the latest and most authoritative publications of Austrian statistics, that of Haeufler:

HUNGARY, including Croatia and Slavonia.

Magyars	4,281,500
Slowacks	2,200,000
Russniaks	350,000
Servians	740,000
Croatians	660,000
Slavonians (Styrians)	50,000
Bulgarians and others	12,800
	4,012,800
Slavonians, total	986,000
Germans	930,000
Wallachians	250,000
Jews	62,500
Greeks and others	
	10,522,800

TRANSYLVANIA.

Magyars	260,170
Szeklers	260,000
Germans	250,000
Wallachians	1,287,340
Others	60,400
	2,117,910

MILITARY FRONTIERS.

Magyars	54,000
Croatians	692,960
Servians	203,000
	895,960
Slavonians, total	185,500
Germans	100,000
Wallachians	
	1,235,460

TOTALS FOR ALL HUNGARY.

Magyars	4,605,670
Slavonians	4,905,760
Germans	1,421,500
Wallachians	2,317,340
Szeklers	250,000
Jews and others	372,900
Grand total	<u>13,873,170</u>

By a still more recent account, taken from the official statistics of Austria, it appears that Hungary, including Transylvania and Military Frontiers, has one hundred and twelve thousand square miles, with fourteen million five hundred thousand inhabitants, and contains —

Cities	75
Towns	888
Villages	16,000
Roman Catholics	9,000,000
Greeks	4,000,000
Protestants	3,250,000
Jews	250,000

Hungary is about the size of Great Britain, and comprehends nearly half of the territory of Austria.

It is stated by another authority that the population of Hungary is nearly fourteen millions, that of England (in 1841) nearly fifteen millions, that of Prussia about sixteen millions.

Thus it is evident that, in point of power, so far as power depends upon population, Hungary possesses as much power as England proper, or even as the kingdom of Prussia. Well, then, there is population enough — there are people enough. Who, then, are they? Their history is known to you as well as to myself, if not better; and I may say they are a distinct people from nations that surround them. They are distinct from the Austrians on the west, and the Turks on the east; and I will say, in the next place, that they are an *enlightened* nation. They have their history; they have their traditions; they are attached to their own institutions and to their own constitutions, which have existed for more than a thousand years.

Mr. Speaker, I have proved, or endeavored to, that Hungary was not only an important nation, but that she possessed, to an eminent degree, the capacities for a republican government.

Her long abhorrence to the centralization of power, her watchful guardianship of the rights of the people as guaranteed by their ancient constitution, jealousy of the people for their rights, and love of liberty and “father-land,” — all give assurance of this belief; and yet, with the history of her past before us, how often have we heard the remark, “They are totally ignorant of the principles of government, and incapable of sustaining a republic, if unmolested”! Such remarks must come from minds ill-informed upon the Hungarian character. Let them look back to the days of our Revolution. Had we then more courage, more

patriotism, and could more than “ nine-tenths of our population read and write in one or more languages ” ?

The British constitution, up to the time of the Revolution, was not as liberal as the Hungarian ; yet but little complaint was made till near the war, and then, as in Hungary, *our* people made but a request to the king for a redress of grievances. And so it passed along until the Declaration of Independence,— in fact, till the formation of the constitution,— and then were found some of the purest patriots of the war opposed to our well-nigh faultless structure of government, for the reason of distrust in the intelligence of the people. Such men, it seems, are with us now. If they are such from principle, they are not to be censured ; but if they are raising the cry to retard the Hungarian cause, I regard it as a sort of covert warfare, in which I would wish to be spared the laurels.

For one, I have no such feelings of distrust of the intelligence of the people. I have always found it there ; and, from the most careful research, I am convinced as much good native sense, as strong powers of mind, enlarged by generous education, exist with the Hungarian masses as with any other nation ; — and, with efficient and pure-minded rulers at the head of a republican government (and we know they do not lack the men), I should have no fears of most triumphant success.

But Hungary exists only in name. The foot-prints of the tyrant are upon her soil, and her people are borne down with sore oppression. The Austrian was driven from her borders, but the semi-barbarian soldiers of the Czar of Russia broke her power, and her people have become wanderers in other lands.

Was this right? No! Was it lawful? No! For Hungary had her nationality independent of Austria, and of course had a right to repel Austrian invasion.

All the writers upon international law agree upon *the* principle that every nation has a right to manage its own internal affairs, and that no other nation has a right to interfere.

“ No state has a right to intermeddle in the internal affairs of another.

“ This rule is a necessary consequence of legal equality, and exclusive jurisdiction of independent states.

“ A right to interfere cannot be claimed, even by an ally.”— *Grotius*.

“ The perfect equality of nations is admitted by all writers to be a fundamental principle, and inviolable.” * * “ Relative magnitude or imbecility creates no distinction of rights.” * * “ It is usurpation, when a strong power interferes in the affairs of a weak one.”— *Kent*.

Vattel lays it down as a principle of the laws of nations,

“ That when a rebellion assumes the character of a civil war, foreign powers not only have no right to interfere in favor of either side, but are bound to recognize and respect two independent parties, constituting for the time, at least, two separate bodies, or societies. Though

one party be to blame, yet there is no *common* judge on earth. They stand precisely in the predicament of two nations unable to agree upon some points of dispute, and who have resorted to arms to settle it; and foreign nations are bound to observe *all the laws of nations* in regard to such war."

Sir, the intervention of Russia in the affairs of Hungary was an open, palpable, flagrant and wanton violation of the well-settled law of nations. It was an interference which struck the whole civilized world with surprise and horror, and which awakened in patriotic minds everywhere a suspicion of her intention to break down liberal principles, in whatever form and wherever they might appear. It awakened an almost universal feeling that such oppression should be repelled,—that aid to Hungary should be afforded in that way which time might develop as the most prudent and effective.

I arraign Russia as a violator of the laws of nature, of nations, of mankind,—the oldest, the highest, and most sacred laws of Christendom. I charge her with being a nation of *murderers*; for, in violation of this law, she marched her armies upon the territory of a nation (Hungary) with whom she was at peace, "interfered with her affairs," and ruthlessly slew her citizens by thousands, and made desolate the land.

Mr. Speaker, what is the duty of other nations, under circumstances like these?

Says Wildman:

"The laws of nations cannot be varied by municipal regulations. If so, it is a violation of them, and the *violators should be held accountable by all nations.*"

Vattel says:

"All nations have the right to *resort to forcible means* against a nation who *openly violates* the laws of nations."

Grotius, Vattel and others, say that

"Nations have the greatest interest in causing the law of nations, which is the basis of their tranquillity, to be *universally* respected. If one openly tramples it under foot, they all may and *ought* to rise up against him; and, by uniting their forces to chastise the common enemy, they will discharge their duty towards themselves, and towards human society, of which they are members."

"The rights of a nation are inviolable and imprescriptible, and cannot be lost for want of use."

This is the law of nations. Hungary had not lost the right to govern herself by *electing* the Emperor of Austria as her king; and, when she assumed the right to govern herself, even Austria was unwarranted in her course, independent of her solemn edict to the Diet to give to Hungary the reforms she asked for.

Mr. Speaker, the law that one nation has no right to intermeddle with the affairs of another is as clear and well-settled as any statute law of this nation, or of either of the states. Its justice and necessity are and must be acknowledged on all sides. Its importance is far

beyond any national or state law ; for, without such principle operating throughout the world, there could exist no nations, no government. The punishment of a breach of it is more imperative upon other nations, by reason of the vastness of its importance, than the neglect to enforce any municipal law for the punishment of crime.

Sir, suppose an atrocious murder is committed in your quiet neighborhood. For revenge or money, one of your neighbors is inhumanly butchered. The murderer is known ; the proof is conclusive. Would not there arise at once a universal feeling that the *violated law* should be redressed, and would not every one feel that an important duty rested upon him to aid in bringing the fiend to condign punishment? No one can question but the crime of Russia is much deeper and darker than that of the individual murderer, and no reason can be offered why the duty to vindicate the laws is not more imperative upon nations than individuals.

The world has not considered this question as they ought, and mankind have been inclined to look to the execution of all such laws as they felt a peculiar interest in. The difficulty is this. We are too apt to circumscribe our views by self,—not regarding the whole family of man as our brethren, and that we are dependent upon one another throughout the great world ; we confine our charities, our aid, our good acts, to *ourselves* and immediate community, and to the *present* time, not guiding and guarding our national liberties for a mighty future.

Mr. Speaker, having shown the unjustifiable, illegal and inhuman manner of Russian intervention in the case of Hungary, I will for a moment examine the principle of that PROPER intervention, the exercise of which, in behalf of Hungary, would have been justified by the laws of nations ; an intervention not only conforming to admitted principles of international law, but hallowed by the early recollections of that heroic people whose natal morn, though encircled by the worshippers of despotism, found them bowing before the shrine of freedom.

The law seems to be clearly settled upon this point, as well by precedent as by authority. Washington justified intervention by a nation when necessary for the security of what is due to themselves. See Sparks' Life. The general principle, as laid down by Vattel and sustained by all jurists, is, "nations may interfere to protect themselves, whether the danger be *remote* or near." And Lord Castlereagh, in his circular despatch of January, 1821, insists upon this principle, though qualified by the remark, and says :

"This danger must be justified by the strongest necessity, and be limited and regulated thereby ; that it could not receive a general and indiscriminate application to all revolutionary movements, *without reference* to their immediate bearing upon some particular state or states. But its exercise was an exception to general principles of the greatest value and importance ; and one that only grows out of the special case and exceptions of this description could never, without the utmost danger,

be so far reduced to *rule* as to be incorporated into the ordinary diplomacy of states, or into the institution of the laws of nations.”

Mr. Canning adopted the same views.

The *discretion* of the statesman determines *when* to exercise a *right* the state possesses. It is a question of *time* only.

There have been many instances of intervention that the world has justified, the most important of which I will name. Cromwell intervened to prevent the extermination of the Waldenses. England interfered to aid the Netherlands against Spain. That of then noble and patriotic France in aid of our country. France, England and Russia, aided the Greeks, and brought them safely out of their fearful struggle with Turkey. Russia, England, Prussia and Austria, interfered with the affairs of Egypt and the Porte. The French interfered in the affairs of Algiers, to prevent the piratical soldiers oppressing the natives — at first; though such intervention subsequently became one of conquest, at the beginning it was not. The five great powers intervened in the affairs of Belgium and Holland. The *United States* interfered in behalf of the Sandwich Islands, to prevent France from taking possession of them.

Several *declarations* have been made by various nations, and at different periods, that they should intervene under certain exigencies. Some of these protests have been regarded; others have not.

Perhaps the boldest of them all was that of President Monroe, in his annual message of 1825; and the same doctrine was reiterated by President Polk, in 1845.

This grew out of the second Congress of Panama, invited by Bolivar. Buenos Ayres and Chili refused to send delegates, which was said to be caused by the desire of Bolivar to create an *empire*. The United States were opposed to this, and, believing foreign influence the instigation, in 1825 made solemn declaration “that *European* intervention in the affairs of *South America* would be considered as dangerous to the peace of the *United States*, and the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition.” Such is the principle boldly — and I say justly and legally — proclaimed.

Whether it would have been *more* or even a tithe as dangerous to *our liberties* for some nation of Europe to have interfered in the predatory warfare of some of the remote provinces of South America, or as great a manifestation of unfriendly disposition as, in the heart of Europe, at this enlightened age, when an important nation of nearly fourteen millions is just forming herself into a liberal government, to overrun her territory with a blood-thirsty soldiery, and at one fell swoop annihilate her, I leave for others to speculate and reason upon.

The case of Greece excited more universal attention than any that history records, save the one under consideration. Many who now hear me well recollect the excitement that pervaded this country. The question of sending an agent to Greece was discussed in this hall.

Mr. Webster’s speech upon that occasion is familiar to all, as it has been recently republished; and in no effort of his life, in my opinion,

has that *great man* done greater honor to himself and country. Mr. Clay supported the same position with Mr. Webster. Thus the two great champions of different interests were found together. They laid aside all party animosities, and met upon the broad platform of patriotism and philanthropy.

Mr. Clay now takes different ground. He was then in the full strength of mature manhood. Disease and age had not wasted his physical strength, nor, imperceptibly to him, preyed upon his intellect,

“Like a worm i' the bud.”

Greece had no agent here to speak for her, but our citizens were awake to her interest. *Strange* as it may appear to us now, at that time the Legislature of South Carolina called upon Congress to interfere and acknowledge the independence of Greece. And our good neighbors of the city of Washington, in their warm zeal, asked that *material* aid, in implements of war, might be sent to Greece by our government.

President Monroe, in his annual message of 1822, in speaking of Greece, says: “The United States owe to the world a great example, and, by means thereof, to the cause of *liberty* and *humanity* a *generous* support.” And very similar was the tone of several succeeding messages, while this struggle was pending. There can be no mistaking his views. It is a fact, as I understand it, that his Secretary of State was in open correspondence with the chairman of the Greek committee in London.

England first intervened by recognizing the independence of Greece.

The interference might, and perhaps should, have been based upon the principles of humanity; but, in the preamble of pacification, the governments of England, France and Russia, at London, July, 1827, put their interference upon the ground of “the necessity of preventing the impediments to trade,” to “prevent the risks that their subjects would incur to their interests.” This must be regarded as the extreme reason one nation can assign to interfere in the affairs of another.

Mr. Speaker, in the case of Greece and Turkey, I have gone more fully into the details, inasmuch as there exist strong reasons that, had not the nations of Europe intervened, this government would. The case of Greece, though strong, *was weak* as compared with the one under consideration.

That was more than a quarter of a century ago, when the resources of the country were feeble as compared with them now. Then we had a population of ten millions; now, of twenty-five millions. Then it was a three months' journey to Europe; now it takes but a dozen days. Then our commercial interests in the European trade were inconsiderable; now they are immense. Then we had a national debt upon us, and were poor; now we are the same as free from debt, and the richest people in the world.

We have all felt grateful to France for her intervention in behalf of

our noble ancestors in their perilous struggle for the freedom we enjoy. We never said "it was wrong in her," and that "she was foolish," or that she had "sinister and hidden motives of self." We never condemned the Continental Congress for sending Dr. Franklin to France on the same errand that Kossuth is here; nor have we any doubt that great and good man used his best skill in accomplishing the great purpose of his mission. But for his success, our fate must for many years have been that of Hungary.

Mr. Speaker, if I am right, this or any other nation has an unquestionable right to intervene in the affairs of Hungary. First, for the reason that Russia committed a most flagrant violation of a *well-established* principle of *international law* in her intervention; and second, upon the principle of safety, justice between nations, humanity, and last, commerce.

For a moment I call the attention of the House and country to the course of the Russian Czar, and the monarchs who obey his nod and do his bidding.

Soon after the restoration of the Bourbons, the "Holy Alliance" was formed; and for its singularity — not for its blasphemy — I quote it:

"In the name of the most Holy and Invisible Trinity, their Majesties the Emperor of Austria, the King of Prussia, and the Emperor of Russia, solemnly declare that the present act has no other object than to publish to the face of the world their fixed resolution, both in the administration of their respective states and in their political relations with every other government, to take for their sole guide the precepts of that holy religion, namely, the precepts of justice, *Christianity* and *peace*, which, far from being applicable only to private causes, must have an immediate influence on the counsels of princes, and guide all their steps, as being the only means of *consolidating human institutions*, and remedying their imperfections."

Most precious piety this! It emanated from the *court of Russia*.

In the Laybach circular of May, 1821, it is declared "all *useful* and *necessary* changes ought only to emanate from the *free will* and intelligent conviction of those *whom God* has rendered *responsible for power*." Great Britain, thank Heaven! repudiated the sacrilegious principle, as subversive of the principles of liberty and of her constitution.

Again, in their Congress of Troppau, it is declared by these *precious worthies* that "the powers have an undoubted right to take a hostile attitude in regard to those states in which an overthrow of the government *may operate as an example*." It will be seen at once that this doctrine is a complete overthrow of the laws of nations, and, if carried out, would soon make the world one great battle-field.

But these *pious* kings and emperors, at the instance of other powers, at London, in 1831, were forced to abandon their former positions. The right to interfere in the affairs of other nations, as pronounced at

Laybach, in 1821, was denied and denounced. See the protocol issued by the five great powers.

Mr. Speaker, again we find Russia pursuing the same course with Hungary, as promulgated in the accursed doctrine of 1821—2. And have we not fresh cause of alarm for the progress of despotism, if not for the downfall of freedom everywhere, when we look upon France, that was our ally,—“our very help in time of need,”—the nation we regarded above and beyond all others? The necks of her people are bowed down with oppression; the yoke is upon them; their patriotism seems subverted, and their energies paralyzed, while a *Nero President* is quenching his thirst for revenge with the best blood of her citizens; is gloating over the complete destruction of the tried patriots and best sons of the nation; has destroyed the last ray of the blessed light of liberty, and is enshrouding the land with the gloom of the darkness of most fearful oppression; and, approving this, who is foremost to shake the bloody hand of the usurper, and congratulate him upon his great successes over HUMAN PROGRESS, but the Czar of Russia? Thus another powerful nation is added to the fell foes of freedom; I trust, sir, for a brief season only, and that the eagle of republican France will soon strangle in her talons the serpents that have crept within the sanctuary of her liberty.

But a short time before the death of *the great Bonaparte*, he remarked that “in fifty years Europe will be either republican or Cossack.” Heaven grant that the doubting prophecy of that wonderful man will soon find beautiful France the eternal home of free, constitutional, and happy republicanism! It must be so. The instincts of despots assure them this, and that a death-struggle is at hand, unless the *calm and just intervention* of other nations prevent it, and quiet the agitated world. Preparation has been gradually going on for the fearful result. All Europe seems now surcharged with the elements of strife. The political sky is dark and portentous. Black clouds, with thunder mutterings of distrust and defiance, are quickly passing across the horizon. The oppressor is uneasy and alarmed; “his knees tremble;” he sees the “hand-writing upon the wall.” The oppressed are gathering in their harvest, and making all ready for the terrible feast of Mars. Inaction now upon the part of other nations, and it must come. I repeat it, it must come; and no power, save “Him who spread the north over the empty place, and hung the earth upon nothing,” can stay its progress, or prevent the fearful shock of contending millions.

In such an event, will the United States have no interest in the *result*? Our commerce is in every European port, and our trade with all her nations. Have we no interest in the *result*? Peradventure “Europe becomes Cossack,” shall we have no interest in the *result*? Then would follow, as effect follows cause, the whole power of despotic Europe to bear upon this happy land. The *result* might be fearful, and well worth warding off when it could have been done,

and saved all blood-shed, saved Europe, saved America (perhaps), saved liberty, and greatly enlarged its borders.

Mr. Speaker, what is to be done? Shall we assume a quarrel that will lead to arms? By no means. The remedy, in my humble judgment, is before us, which will at once quiet the unholy passions of mankind, and calm the heaving elements of political discord.

I would recommend that the Congress of this republic emphatically declare :

First, that "no nation has a right to interfere with the domestic affairs of another."

And, second, that Congress recommend to the President of the United States the propriety of instructing our ministers and chargés to foreign governments, to invite them to meet our own in a general Congress of nations, for the *consideration, adoption, and future enforcement*, of the above principle of international law.

Such is my remedy, nor have I one doubt of its complete efficiency.

So far as Hungary is concerned, the Czar might fret and fume for the time as the chided child; but the master powers of the world would awe him into respectful acquiescence. Talk of Russia going to war, upon the promulgation of such a principle by America, England, and the other principal powers of Europe! The old Czar is not to be caught in any such arrant and destructive folly. His entire marine would soon disappear from the seas, while the navies of England and America would give security to the commerce of all nations. Much of the strength of his armies would be required to guard his ports. And does he not know that Poland yet has her legions of heroes, with long unsettled accounts of deep and burning hatred, who soon would hover upon his borders, like chafed and hungry lions for their prey; that Hungary would, *en masse*, follow him to the death, to avenge their own fresh and bleeding wrongs? France (I mean her people) has not forgotten her Russian campaign, nor the relentless cruelty of the Cossack barbarian; but a deadly hatred yet exists in the breast of the true Frenchman, and such an opportunity could not pass unimproved. Switzerland, too, has a score to settle.

Russia go to war for such a cause, or any cause, with such facts before her! He who is credulous enough to believe so must have studied her history with ill success, and looked into the diplomacy of her emperor with little care. Much more likely would Nicholas be to applaud the edict with lip-words of kindness, and readily yield to it with *court smiles* of approbation.

Mr. Speaker, a word more and I close. Had such a Congress convened one half-century ago, many wars would have been prevented, a vast amount of human suffering avoided, and millions of human lives saved. It would be a Congress of perpetual peace. Its moral influence would be irresistible.

I would by no means carry this matter so far as to form "entangling alliances" with any other nation or nations; but such a Congress would insure the peace of the world, and the welfare of mankind, and

the spread and ultimate triumph of republican principles in Europe, would be its corollary. I would feel proud and happy to see my own beloved country, founded, as she is, upon the rock of eternal truth, take the lead in the declaration and promulgation of a great and universal principle of right in the holy science of national morality.

KOSSUTH'S LECTURE,

DELIVERED AT THE BROADWAY TABERNACLE, JUNE 21, 1852.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: During six months I have appeared many times before the tribunal of public opinion in America. This evening I appear before you in the capacity of a working man. My aged mother, tried by more sufferings than any living being on earth, and my three sisters, one of them a widow with two fatherless orphans, —together a homeless family of fourteen unfortunate souls, —have been driven by the Austrian tyrant from their home, that Golgotha of murdered right, that land of the oppressed, but also of undesponding braves, and the land of approaching revenge.

When Russian violence, aided by domestic treason, succeeded to accomplish what Austrian perjury could not achieve, and I with bleeding heart went into exile, my mother and all my sisters were imprisoned by Austria; but it having been my constant maxim not to allow to whatever member of my family any influence in public affairs, except that I trusted to the charitable superintending of my youngest sister the hospitals of the wounded heroes, as also to my wife the cares of providing for the furniture of these hospitals, not even the foulest intrigues could contrive any pretext for the continuation of their imprisonment.

And thus, when diplomacy succeeded to fetter my patriotic activity by the incarceration in far Asia, after some months of unjust imprisonment, my mother and sisters and their family were released; and, though surrounded by a thousand spies, tortured by continual interference with their private life, and harassed by insulting police measures, they had at least the consolation to breathe the native air, to see their tears falling upon native soil, and to rejoice at the majestic spirit of our people, which no adversities could bend and no tyranny could break.

But, free at last, by the humanity of the Sultan, backed by American generosity, seconded by England, I once more was restored to personal freedom, and by freedom to activity. Having succeeded to escape the different snares and traps which I unexpectedly met, I considered it my duty publicly to declare that the war between Austrian tyranny and the freedom of Hungary is not ended yet; and I swore eternal resistance to the oppressors of my country, and declared that, faithful to the oath sworn solemnly to my people, I will devote my life to the liberation of my father-land.

Scarcely reached the tidings of this, my after resolution, the bloody

court of Vienna, than two of my sisters were again imprisoned ; my poor old mother escaping the same cruelty only on account that the bristling bayonets of the blood-hounds of despotism, breaking in the dead of night upon the tranquil house, and the persecution of my sisters, hurried away out of Hungary to the prisons of Vienna, threw her in a half-dying condition upon a sick bed. Again, no charge could be brought against the poor prisoners, because, knowing them in the tiger's den, and surrounded by spies, I not only did not communicate anything to them about my foreign preparations, and my dispositions at home, but have expressly forbidden them to mix in any way with the doings of patriotism.

But tyrants are suspicious. You know the tale about Marcius. He dreamt that he cut the throat of Dionysius the tyrant, and Dionysius condemned him to death, saying that he would not have dreamt such things in the night if he had not thought of them by day. Thus the Austrian tyrant imprisoned my sisters, because he suspected that, being my sisters, they must be initiated in my plans. At last, after five months of imprisonment, they were released, but upon the condition that they, as well as my mother and all my family, should leave our native land. Thus they became exiles, homeless, helpless, poor. I advised them to come to your free country, the asylum of the oppressed, where labor is honored, and where they must try to live by their honest work.

They followed my advice, and are on their way ; but my poor aged mother, and my youngest sister,—the widow with the two orphans,—being stopped by dangerous sickness at Brussels, another sister stopped with them to nurse them. The rest of the family is already on the way in a sailing ship, of course, I believe, and not in a steamer — for we are poor. My mother and sisters will follow, as soon as their health permits.

I felt the duty to help them in their first establishment here. For this I had to work, having no means of my own.

Some generous friends advised me to try a lecture for this purpose, and I did it. I will not act the part of a crying complainant about our misfortunes ; we will bear it. Let me at once go to my task.

There is a stirring vitality of busy life about this your city of New York, striking with astonishment the stranger's mind. How great is the progress of humanity ! Its steps are counted by centuries ; and yet, while countless millions stand almost at the same point where they stood, and some even have declined since America first emerged out of an unexplored darkness, which had covered her for thousands of years, like the gem in the sea ; while it is but yesterday a few Pilgrims landed on the wild coasts of Plymouth, flying from causeless oppressions, seeking but for a place of refuge and of rest, and for a free spot in the wilderness to adore the Almighty in their own way ; still, in such a brief time, shorter than the recorded genealogy of the noble horse of the wandering Arab,—yes, almost within the turn of the hand,—out of the unknown wilderness a mighty empire arose, broad as

an ocean, solid as a mountain rock; and upon the scarcely rotted roots of the primitive forest proud cities stand, teeming with boundless life, growing like the prairie grass in spring, advancing like the steam-engine, baffling time and distance like the telegraph, and spreading the pulsation of their life-tide to the remotest parts of the world; and in those cities and on that broad land a nation, free as the mountain air, independent as the soaring eagle, active as nature, and powerful as the giant strength of millions of freemen.

How wonderful! What a present, and what a future yet!

Future? — Then let me stop at this mysterious word, the veil of unrevealed eternity!

The shadow of that dark word passed across my mind, and, amid the bustle of this gigantic bee-hive, there I stood with meditation alone!

And the spirit of the immovable past rose before my eyes, unfolding the misty picture-rolls of vanished greatness, and of the fragility of human things.

And among their dissolving views there I saw the scorched soil of Africa, and upon that soil Thebes with its hundred gates, more splendid than the most splendid of all the existing cities of the world, — Thebes, the pride of old Egypt, the first metropolis of arts and sciences, and the mysterious cradle of so many doctrines which still rule mankind in different shapes, though it has long forgotten their source. There I saw Syria, with its hundred cities, every city a nation, and every nation with an empire's might.

Baalbec, with its gigantic temples, the very views of which baffle the imagination of man, as they stand like mountains of carved rocks in the desert, where for hundreds of miles not a stone is to be found, and no river flows, offering its tolerant bark to carry a mountain's weight upon; and yet there they stood, those gigantic ruins; — and, as we glance at them with astonishment, though we have mastered the mysterious elements of nature, and know the combination of levers, and how to catch the lightning, and to command the power of steam and compressed air, and how to write with the burning fluid out of which the thunderbolt is forged, and how to drive the current of streams up the mountain's top, and how to make the air shine in the night like the light of the sun, and how to dive to the bottom of the deep ocean, and how to rise up to the sky, — cities like New York dwindle to the modest proportion of a child's toy, so that we are tempted to take the nice little thing up on the nail of our thumb, as Micromegas did with the man of wax.

Though we know all this, and many things else, still, looking at the times of Baalbec, we cannot forbear to ask what people of giants was that which could do what neither the puny efforts of our skill nor the ravaging hand of unrelenting time can undo, through thousands of years. And then I saw the dissolving picture of Nineveh, with its ramparts now covered with mountains of sand, where Layard is digging up colossal-winged bulls, huge as a mountain, and yet carved with the nicety of a cameo; and then Babylon, with its wonderful

walls; and Jerusalem, with its unequalled temple; Tyrus, with its countless fleets; Arad, with its wharves; and Sidon, with its labyrinth of work-shops and factories; and Ascalon, and Gaza, and Beyrout, and further off Persepolis, with its world of palaces.

All these passed before my eyes as they have been, and again they passed as they now are, with no trace of their ancient greatness, but here and there a ruin, and everywhere the desolation of tombs. With all their splendor, power and might, they vanished like a bubble, or like the dream of a child, leaving but for a moment a drop of cold sweat upon the sleeper's brow, or a quivering smile upon his lips; then this wiped away,—dream, sweat and smile, all is nothingness. So the powerful cities of the ancient greatness of a giant age; their very memory but a sad monument of the fragility of human things. And yet, proud of the passing hour's bliss, men speak of the future, and believe themselves insured against its vicissitudes.

And the spirit of history rolled on the misty shapes of the past before the eyes of my soul. After those cities of old came the nations of old. The Assyrians, the Chaldeans, the warlike Philistines, the commercial republics of Phœnicia and the Persians, ruling from the Indus to the Mediterranean, and Egypt, becoming the centre of the universe, after having been thousands of years ago the cradle of its civilization.

Where is the power, the splendor and the glory, of all those mighty nations? All has vanished, without other trace than such as the foot of the wanderer leaves upon the dust. And still men speak of the future with proud security. And yet they know that Carthage is no more, though it ruled Spain, and ruled Africa beyond the Pillars of Hercules down to Cyrene, an immense territory, blessed with all the blessings of nature, which Hermon filled with flourishing cities, of which now no trace remains. And men speak of the future, though they know that such things as heroic Greece once did exist, glorious in its very ruins, and a source of everlasting inspiration in its immortal memory!

Men speak of the future, and still they can *rehearse* the powerful colonies that issued from Greece, and the empires their heroic sons have founded. And they can mark out with a finger on the map the unparalleled conquests of Alexander; how he crossed victoriously that desert whence Semiramis, out of a countless host, brought home but twenty men; and Cyneas, out of a still larger number, only seven men. But he (Alexander) went on in triumph, and conquered India up to the Hydaspes as he conquered before Tyrus and Egypt, and secured with prudence what he had conquered with indomitable energy.

And men speak of the future, though they *know* that such a thing as Rome did exist;—Rome, the mistress of the world; Rome, rising from atomic smallness to immortal greatness, and to a grandeur absorbing the world; Rome, now having all her citizens without, and now again having all the world within her walls, and passing through all

the vicissitudes of gigantic rise, wavering decline, and mournful fall. And men speak of the future still, with these awful monuments of fragility before their eyes!

But it is the sad fate of humanity that, encompassing its hopes, fears, contentment and wishes, within the narrow scope of momentary satisfaction, the great lesson of history is taught almost in vain. Whatever be its warnings, we rely on good fortune, and we are ingenious in finding out some soothing pretext to lull down the dread admonitions of history. Man, in his private capacity, consoles the instinctive apprehension of his heart with the idea that his condition is different from what warningly strikes his mind.

The patriot feels well, that not only the present but also the future of his beloved country has a claim to his cares; but he lulls himself into carelessness by the ingenious consolation that the condition of *his* country is different; that it is not obnoxious to those faults which made other countries decline and fall; that the time is different, the character and spirit of the nation are different, its power not so precarious, and its prosperity more solid; and that, therefore, it will not share the fate of those which vanished like a dream. And the philanthropist, also, whose heart throbs for the lasting welfare of all humanity, cheers his mind with the idea that, after all, mankind at large is happier than it was of yore, and that this happiness insures the future against the reverses of olden times.

That fallacy, natural as it may be, is a curse which weighs heavily on us. Let us see in what respect our age is different from those olden times. Is mankind more virtuous than it has been of yore? Why, in this enlightened age, are we not looking for virtuous inspirations to the godlike characters of these olden times? If we take virtue to be love of the laws, and of the father-land, dare we say that our age is more virtuous? If that man is to be called virtuous who, in all his acts, is but animated by a regard to the common good, and who, in every case, feels ready to subordinate his own selfish interest to public exigencies,—if that be virtue (as indeed it is), I may well appeal to the conscience of mankind to give an impartial verdict upon the question, if our age be more virtuous than the age of Codrus or of Regulus, of Decius and of Scævola?

Look to the school of Zeno, the stoics of immortal memory; and when you see them contemning alike the vanity of riches and the ambition of personal glory, impenetrable to the considerations of pleasure and of pain, occupied only to promote public welfare and to fulfil their duties toward their community,—when you see them inspired in their acts by the doctrine that, born in a society, it is their duty to live for the benefit of society,—and when you see them placing their own happiness only upon the happiness of their fellow-men, then say if our too selfish, too material age, can stand a comparison with that olden period!

When you remember the politicians of ancient Greece, acknowledging no other basis for the security of the commonwealth than virtue,

and see the political system of our days turning only upon manufactures, commerce and finances, will you say that our age is more virtuous? When, looking to your own country,— the best, and the happiest because the best, of all,— you will not dissimulate in your mind what considerations influence the platforms of your political parties; and then, in contra-position, will reflect upon those times when Timon of Athens, chosen to take part in his country's government, assembled his friends and renounced their friendship, in order that he might not be tempted by party considerations, or by affections of amity, in his important duties towards the commonwealth. Then, having thus reflected, say, "Will you take your own age to be more virtuous, and therefore more insured against the reverses of fortune, than those older times?"

But perhaps there is a greater amount of private happiness, and, by the broad diffusion of private welfare, the security of the commonwealth is more lasting and more sure?

Caraccioli, having been ambassador in England, when returned to Italy, said that "England is the most detestable country in the world, because there are to be found twenty different sorts of religion, but only two kinds of sauce with which to season meat." There is a point in that questionable jest — materialism! — curse of our age! Who can seriously speak about the broad diffusion of happiness in a country where contentment is measured according to the many kinds of sauces we can taste? My people is by far not the most material. We are not much given to the cupidity of becoming rich. We know the word "enough." The simplicity of our manners makes us easily contented in our material relations. We like rather to be free than to be rich; we look for an honorable profit, that we may have upon what to live. But we don't like to live for the sake of profit; augmentation of property and of wealth with us is not the aim of life. We prefer tranquil, independent mediocrity, to the incessant excitement and incessant toil of cupidity and gain. Such is the character of my nation; and yet I knew a countryman of mine who blew out his brains because he had no means more to eat daily *patée de fois gras* and drink champagne. Well, that was no Hungarian character; but, though somewhat eccentrically, he characterized the leading feature of our country.

Indeed, are your richest money-kings happier than Fabricius was, when he preferred his seven acres of land, worked by his own hands, to the treasures of an empire? Are the ladies of to-day, adorned with all the gorgeous splendor of wealth, of jewels and of art, happier than those ladies of ancient Rome have been, to whom it was forbidden to wear silk and jewelry, or drive in a carriage through the streets of Rome? Are the ladies of to-day happier in their splendid parlors than the Portias and the Cornelias have been in the homely retirement of their modest nurseries? Nay; all that boundless thirst of wealth, which is the ruling spirit of our age, and the moving power of enterprising energy,— all this hunting after treasures, and all its happiest results,— have they made men nobler, better, and happier? Have they

improved their soul, or even their body and health, at least so much that the richest of men could eat and digest two dinners instead of one? Or has the insatiable thirst of material gain originated a purer patriotism? Has it made mankind more devoted to their country, more ready to sacrifice for public interest? If that were the case, then I would gladly confess the error of my doubts, and take the pretended larger amount of happiness for a guarantee of the future of the commonwealth.

But, ladies and gentlemen, a single word,—the manner in which we use it, distorting its original meaning, often characterizes a whole century. You all know the word “*idiot*.” Almost every living language has adopted it, and all languages attach to it the idea that an “*idiot*” is a poor, ignorant, useless wretch, nearly insane. Well, “*idiot*” is a word of Greek extraction, and meant with the Greek a man who cared nothing for the public interest, but was all devoted to the selfish pursuit of private profit, whatever might have been its results to the community. O, what an immense, what a deplorable change must have occurred in the character of humanity, till unconsciously we came to the point that, by what name the ancient Greeks would have styled those European money-kings, who, for a miserable profit, administer to the unrelenting despots their eternal loans to oppress nations with, we now apply that very name to the wretched creatures incapable to do anything for themselves! We bear compassion for the idiots of to-day; but the modern editions of Greek idiotism, though loaded with the bloody scars of a hundred thousand orphans, and with the curse of millions, stand high in honor, and go on, proudly glorying in their criminal idiotism, heaping up the gold of the world!

But I may be answered that, after all, though our age be not so virtuous, and though the large accumulation in wealth has in reality not made mankind happier, still it cannot be denied you are in a prosperous condition, and prosperity is a solid basis of your country's future. Industry, navigation, commerce, have so much developed, they have formed so many ties by which every citizen is linked to his country's fate, that your own material interest is a security to your country's future.

In loving your own selves you love your country, and in loving your country you love your own selves. This community of public and private interest will make you avoid the stumbling-block over which others fell. Prosperity is, of course, a great benefit; it is one of the aims of human society; but, when prosperity becomes too material, it does not always guarantee the future. Paradoxical as the statement may appear, too much prosperity is often dangerous, and some national misfortune is now and then a good preservation of prosperity.

For much prosperity makes nations careless of their future; seeing no immediate danger, they believe no danger possible; and then, when a danger comes, either by sudden chance or by the slow accumulation

of noxious elements, then, frightened by the idea that, in meeting the danger, their private prosperity might be injured or lost, selfishness often prevails over patriotism, and men become ready to submit to arrogant pretensions, and compromise with exigencies at the price of principles; and republics flatter despots, and freemen covet the friendship and indulgence of tyrants, only that things may go on just as they go, though millions weep, and nations groan; but still things should go on just as they go, because every change may claim a sacrifice, or affect our thriving private interest. Such is often the effect of too great, of too secure prosperity. Therefore, prosperity alone affords yet no security.

You remember the tale of Polycrates. He was the happiest of men; good luck attended every one of his steps; success crowned all he undertook, and a friend thus spoke to him: "Thou art too happy for thy happiness to last; appease the anger of the Eumenides by a voluntary sacrifice, or deprive thyself of what thou most valuest among all that thou possessest." Polycrates obeyed, and drew from his finger a precious jewel, of immense value, dear to his heart, and threw it into the sea. Soon after, a fish was brought to his house, and the cook found the precious ring in the belly of the fish; but the friend who had advised him hastened to flee from the house, and shook the dust of its threshold from his shoes, because he feared a great mischief must fall upon that too prosperous house. There is a deep meaning in that tale of Polycrates.

Machiavel says that it is now and then necessary to recall the constituent essential principles to the memory of nations. And who is charged by Providence with this task? Misfortune! The battles of Cannæ and of Thrasymene recalled the Romans to the love of their father-land. Nations have had till now about such things no other teacher than misfortune. They should choose to have a less afflicting one. They can have it. To point this out will be the final object of my remarks. But so much is certain, that prosperity alone is yet no security for the future, even of the happiest commonwealth.

Those ancient nations have been also prosperous. They were industrious, as your nation is; their land has been covered with cities and villages, well-cultivated fields, blessed with the richest crops, and crowded with countless herds spread over immense territories, furrowed with artificial roads; their flourishing cities swarmed with artists, and merchants, and workmen, and pilots, and sailors, like as New York does. Their busy laborers built gigantic water-works, digged endless canals, and carried distant waters through the sands of the desert; their mighty, energetic spirit built large and secure harbors, dried the marshy lakes, covered the sea with vessels, the land with living beings, and spread a creation of life and movement along the earth. Their commerce was broad as the known world. Tyre exchanged its purple for the silk of Serique; Cashmere's soft shawls, to-day yet a luxury of the wealthiest, the pearls of Havila, the diamonds of Golconda, the gorgeous carpets of Lydia, the gold of Ophir and Saba, the aromatic

spices and jewels of Ceylon, and the pearls and the perfumes of Arabia, the myrrh, silver, gold-dust and ivory of Africa, as well as the amber of the Baltic and the tin of Thule, appeared alike in their commerce, raising them in turn to the dominion of the world, and undoing them by too careless prosperity.

The manner and the shape of one or the other art, or one or the other industry, has changed; the steam-engine has replaced the rowing bench, and the cannon replaced the catapult; but, as a whole, even your country, which you are proud to hear styled "the living wonder of the world,"—yes, even your country in the New World, and England in the Old,—England, that gigantic work-shop of industry, surrounded with a beautiful evergreen garden,—yes, all the dominions of the Anglo-Saxon race can claim no higher praise of its prosperity, than when we say that you have reproduced the grandeur of those ancient nations, and nearly equal their prosperity. And what has become of them? A sad skeleton. What remains of their riches, of their splendor, and of their vast dominions? An obscure recollection,—a vain memory. Thus fall empires, thus vanish nations, which have no better guardians than their prosperity.

But "we have," will you say, "we have a better guardian,—our freedom, our republican institutions, our confederation uniting so many glorious stars into one mighty galaxy,—these are the ramparts of our present, these our future security."

Well, it would ill become me to investigate if there be "something rotten in the state of Denmark;" and certainly I am not the man who could feel inclined to undervalue the divine power of liberty,—to underrate the value of your democratic institutions, and the vitality of your glorious Union. It is to them I look in the solitary hours of meditation; and when, overwhelmed with the cares of the patriot, my soul is groaning under nameless woes, it is your freedom's sunny light which dispels the gloomy darkness of despondency;—here is the source whence the inspiration of hope is flowing to the mourning world, that down-trodden millions at the bottom of their desolation still retain a melancholy smile upon their lips, and still retain a voice in their bleeding chest, to thank the Almighty God that the golden thread of freedom is not lost on earth.

Yes, ladies and gentlemen, all this I feel, and all this I know, reflecting upon your freedom, your institutions, and your Union. But, casting back my look into the mirror of the past, there I see upon mouldering ground, written with warning letters, the dreadful truth that all this has nothing new, and all this has been, and all this has never yet been proved sufficient security. Freedom is the fairest gift of Heaven; but it is not the security of itself. Democracy is the embodiment of freedom, which in itself is but a principle. But what is the security of democracy? And if you answer "the Union is," then I ask, "and where is the security of the Union?" Yes, ladies and gentlemen, freedom is no new word. It is as old as the world. Despotism is new, but freedom not. And yet it has never proved a char-

ter to the security of nations. Republic is no new word. It is as old as the word "society." Before Rome itself, a republic absorbed the world. There were in all Europe, Africa and Asia Minor, but republics to be found, and many among them democratic. Men had to wander to far Persia, if they would have desired to know what sort of thing a monarch is. And all they have perished,—the small ones by foreign power, the large ones by domestic vice.

And union, and confederacy, the association of societies, a confederate republic of republics, is also no new invention. Greece has known it, and flourished by it for a while. Rome has known it; by such associations she attacked the world. The world has known them; with them it defended itself against Rome. The so-called barbarians of Europe, beyond the Danube and the Rhine, have known it: it was by a confederacy of union that they resisted the ambitious mistress of the world. Your own country — America — has known it; the traditional history of the Romans of the west, of those six Indian nations, bears the records of it, out of an older time than your ancestors settled in this land; the wise man of the Onondaga nation has exercised it long before your country's legislators built upon that basis your independent home. And still it proved in itself alone no security to all those nations who have known it before you.

Your own fathers have seen the last of the Mohawks bury his bloody tomahawk in the name-sake flood, and bare his head to the majestic words of Logan, spoken with the dignity of an Æmilius, that there exists no living being on earth in the veins of whom one drop of the blood of his race did flow. Well, had history nothing else to teach us than that all that the wisdom of man did conceive, and all that his energy has executed, through all the innumerable days of the past, and all that we take to be glorious in nations and happy to men, cannot do so much as to insure a future even to such a flourishing commonwealth as yours; then weaker hearts may well ask: "What good is it to warn us of a fatality which we cannot escape? What good is it to hold up the mournful monuments of a national mortality, to sadden our heart, if all that is human must share that common doom? Let us do as we can, and so far as we can; and let the future bring what bring it may."

But that would be the speech of one having no faith in the all-watching Eye, and regarding the eternal laws of the universe not as an emanation of a bountiful Providence, but of a blind fatality, which plays at hazard with the destinies of men. I never will share such blasphemy. Misfortune came over me, and came over my house, and came over my guiltless nation; still I never have lost my trust in the Father of all. I have lived the days when the people of my oppressed country went along weeping over the immense misfortune that they cannot pray, seeing the downfall of the justest cause and the outrageous triumph of the most criminal of all crimes on earth; and they went along not able to pray, and weeping that they are not able to pray. I shuddered at the terrible tidings in the desolation of my

exile; but I could pray, and sent the consolation home that I do not despair,— that I believe in God, and trust in his bountiful providence, and ask them who of them, dares despair, when I do not?

I was in exile, as I am now, but arrogant despots were debating about my blood; my infant children in prison; my wife, the faithful companion of my sorrows and my cares,— I can hardly say of my joys,— hunted like a noble deer; my sisters in the tyrant's fangs, red with the blood of my nation; and the heart of my aged mother breaking about the shattered fortunes of her house; and all of them, at last, homeless wanderers, cast to the winds, like the yellow leaves of a fallen tree; and my father-land, my dear-beloved father-land, half murdered, half in chains; and humanity nearly all oppressed, and those who are not yet oppressed looking with compassion at our sad fate, but taking it for wise policy not to help; and the sky of freedom dark on the horizon, and darkening fast over all; — and nowhere a ray of hope, a lustre of consolation nowhere,— and still I did not despair; and my faith to God, my trust to Providence, has spread over my down-trodden land.

I, therefore, who do not despair of my own country's future, though it be overwhelmed with misfortunes, I certainly have an unwavering faith in the destinies of humanity. And though the mournful example of so many fallen nations instructs us that neither the diffusion of knowledge nor the progress of industry, neither prosperity nor power, — nay, not even freedom itself,— can secure a future to nations; — still I say there is one thing which can secure it,— there is one law the obedience to which would prove a rock upon which the freedom and happiness of nations may rest sure to the end of their days; — and that law, ladies and gentlemen, is the law proclaimed by our Saviour; that rock is the unperverted religion of Christ. But, while the consolation of this sublime truth falls meekly upon my soul, like as the moon-light falls upon the smooth sea, I humbly claim your forbearance, ladies and gentlemen,— I claim it in the name of the Almighty Lord, to hear from my lips a mournful truth.

It may displease you, it may offend; but still truth is truth. Offended vanity may blame me, power may frown at me, and pride may call my boldness arrogant, but still truth is truth; — and I, bold in my unpretending humility, will proclaim that truth. I will proclaim it from land to land, and from sea to sea; I will proclaim it with the faith of the martyrs of old, till the seed of my word falls upon the conscience of men. Let come what come may, I say, with Luther, God help me — I cannot otherwise!

Yes, ladies and gentlemen, the law of our Saviour, the religion of Christ, can secure a happy future to nations. But, alas! there is yet no Christian people on earth,— not a single one among all. I have spoken the word. It is harsh, but true. Nearly two thousand years have passed since Christ has proclaimed the eternal decree of God, to which the happiness of mankind is bound, and has sanctified it with

his own blood, and still there is not one single nation on earth which would have enacted into its law-book that eternal decree.

Men believe in the mysteries of religion, according to the creed of their church. They go to church, and they pray and give alms to the poor, and drop the balm of consolation into the wounds of the afflicted, and believe they do all that the Lord commanded to do, and believe they are Christians. No! some few may be, but their nation is not,— their country is not. The era of Christianity has yet to come; and when it comes, then, only then, will the future of nations be assured. Far be it from me to misapprehend the immense benefit which the Christian religion, such as it already is, has operated in mankind's history. It has influenced the private character of men, and the social condition of millions; it was the nurse of a new civilization; and, softening the manners and morals of men, its influence has been felt even in the worst quarter of history—in war. The continual massacres of the Greek and Roman kings and chiefs, and the extermination of nations by them, the all-devastating warfare of the Timours and Genghis Khans, are in general no more to be met with; only my own dear father-land was doomed to experience once more the cruelties of the Timours and Genghis Khans out of the sacrilegious hands of the dynasty of Austria, which calumniates Christianity by calling itself Christian. But, though that beneficial influence of Christianity we have cheerfully to acknowledge, yet it is still not to be disputed that the law of Christ does yet nowhere rule the Christian world.

Montesquieu himself, whom nobody could charge with being partial to republics, avows that despotism is incompatible with the Christian religion, because the Christian religion commands meekness, and despotism claims arbitrary power to the whims and passions of a frail mortal; and still it is more than fifteen hundred years since the Christian religion became dominant, and throughout that long period despotism has been preëminently dominant. You can scarcely show one single truly democratic republic of any power which had subsisted but for a hundred years, exercising any influence upon the condition of the world. Constantine, raising the Christian religion to Rome's imperial throne, did not restore the Romans to their primitive virtues. Constantinople became the sewer of vice; Christian worship did not change the despotic habits of kings.

The Tituses, the Trajans, the Antonines, appeared seldom on Christian thrones. On the contrary, mankind has seen, in the name of religion, lighted the piles of persecution, and blazing torches of intolerance; the earth overspread with corpses of the million victims of fanaticism; the fields watered with blood; the cities wrapped in flame, and empires ravaged with unrelenting rage. Why? Is it the Christian religion which caused these deplorable facts, branding the brow of partly degraded, partly outraged humanity? No. It was precisely the contrary; the fact that the religion of Christ never yet was practically taken for an all-outruling law, the obedience to which, outweighing every other consideration, would have directed the policy of

nations,— that fact is the source of evil whence the oppression of millions has overflowed the earth, and which makes the future of the proudest, of the freest nation, to be like a house built upon sand.

Every religion has two parts. One is the dogmatical,— the part of worship; the other is the moral part. The first — the dogmatic part — belonging to those mysterious regions which the arm of human understanding cannot reach, because they belong to the dominion of belief, and that begins where the dominion of knowledge ends. That part of religion, therefore, the dogmatic one, should be left to every man to settle between God and his own conscience. It is a sacred field, whereon worldly power never should dare to trespass, because there it has no power to enforce its will. Force can murder, it can make liars and hypocrites; but no violence on earth can force a man to believe what he does not believe. Yet the other part of religion — the moral part — is quite different. That teaches duties towards ourselves, and towards our fellow-men.

It can be therefore not indifferent to the human family, it can be not indifferent to whatever community, if those duties be fulfilled or not. And no nation can, with full right, claim the title of a Christian nation, no government the title of a Christian government, which is not founded on the basis of Christian morality, and which takes it not for an all-overruling law to fulfil the moral duties ordered by the religion of Christ towards men, and nations, who are but the community of men, and toward mankind, which is the community of nations. Now, look to those dread pages of history, stained with the blood of millions, spilt under the blasphemous pretext of religion; — was it the interest to vindicate the rights and enforce the duties of Christian morality, which raised the hand of nation against nation, of government against government? No,— it was the fanaticism of creed, and the fury of dogmatism.

Nations and governments rose to propagate their manner to worship God, and their own mode to believe the inscrutable mysteries of eternity; but nobody has yet raised a finger to punish the sacrilegious violation of the moral laws of Christ,— nobody ever stirred to claim the fulfilment of the duties of Christian morality towards nations. There is much speaking about the separation of church and state; and yet, on close examination, we shall see that there was, and there is, scarcely one single government entirely free from the direct or indirect influence of one or other religious denomination,— scarcely one which would not at least bear a predilection, if not countenance with favor, one or another creed; — but creed, and always creed. The mysteries of dogmatism and the manner of worship enter into these considerations. They enter even into the politics, and turn the scales of hatred and affection; but certainly there is not one single nation, not one single government, the policy of which would ever have been regulated by that law of morality which our Saviour has promulgated as the eternal law of God, which shall be obeyed in all the relations of men to men. But you say the direct or indirect amalgamation of

church and state proved to be dangerous to nations in Christian and for Christian times, because it affected the individual rights of men, and among them the dearest of all, the liberty of conscience and freedom of thought. Well, of this danger, at least, the future of your country is free; because here, at least, in this your happy land, religious liberty exists. Your institutions left no power to your government to interfere with the religion of your citizens. Here every man is free to worship God as he chooses to do.

And that is true, and it is a great glory of your country that it is true. It is a fact which entitles to the hope that your nation will revive the law of Christ even on earth. However, the guarantee which your constitution affords to religious liberty is but a negative part of a Christian government. There are, besides that, positive duties to be fulfilled. He who does no violence to the conscience of man has but the negative merit of a man, doing no wrong; but, as he who does not murder, does not steal, and does not covet what his neighbor's is, but, by not stealing, not murdering, not coveting what our neighbor's is, we did yet no positive good; a man who does not murder has not yet occasion to the title of virtuous man. And here is precisely the infinite merit of the Christian religion. While Moses, in the name of the Almighty God, ordered but negative decrees towards fellow-men, the Christian religion commands positive virtue. Its divine injunctions are not performed by not doing wrong; it desires us to do good. The doctrine of Jesus Christ is sublime in its majestic simplicity. "Thou shalt love God above all, and love thy neighbor as thou lovest thyself."

This sublime doctrine is the religion of love; it is the religion of charity. "Though I speak with the tongue of angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass and tinkling cymbals. Though I have the gift of prophecy, and understand all mysteries and all knowledge, and have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing. And though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing." Thus speaks the Lord, and thus he gave the law: "Do unto others as thou desirest others to do unto thee." Now, in the name of Him who gave this law to humanity to build up the eternal bliss and temporal happiness of mankind,—in the name of that eternal Legislator, I ask, is in that *charity*, that fundamental law of Christianity, any limit of distinction drawn between man in his power, and man in his natural capacity? Is it but a law for a man where he is alone, and can do but little good? Is it no law more where two are together, and can do more good,—no law more when millions are together? Am I in my personal adversities, is my aged mother in her helpless desolation, are my homeless sisters whom you feed to-day that they may work to-morrow,—are we your neighbors, unto whom you do as you would others in a similar position do unto yourself? And is every one of my down-trodden people a neighbor to every one of you,—but all my people collectively, is it

not a neighbor to you? And is my nation not a neighbor to your nation? Is my down-trodden land a neighbor to your down-trodden land? O, my God! men speak of the Christian religion, and style themselves Christians, and yet make a distinction between virtue in private life and virtue in public life; as if the divine law of charity would have been given only for certain small relations, and not for all the relations between men and men!

“There he is again, with his eternal complaints about his country’s wrongs,” may perhaps somebody remark; “this is an assembly of charity, assembled to ease his private woes of family, and there he is again speaking of his country’s wrongs, and alluding to our foreign policy, about which he knows our views to be divided!” Thus I may be charged.

My “private family woes!” But all my woes, and all the woes of my family, are concentrated in the unwarrantable oppression of my father-land. You are an assembly of charity, it is true; and the Almighty may requite you for it; — but, being a charitable assembly, can you blame me that the filial and fraternal devotion of my heart, in taking with gratitude the balm of consolation which your charity pours into the bleeding wounds of my family, looks around to heal those wounds, the torturing pains of which you ease, but which cannot be cured but by justice and charity done to my father-land?

Shall this sad heart of mine be contented by leaving to my homeless brother and sisters the means to have their bread by honest labor, their daily bread, salted with the bitter tears of exile? And shall I not care to leave them the hope that their misfortune will have an end; that they will see again their beloved home; that they will see it independent and free, and live where their fathers lived, and sleep the tranquil sleep of death in that soil with which the ashes of their fathers mingle? Shall I not care to give the consolation to my aged mother, that, when her soon departing soul, crowned with the garland of martyrdom, looks down from the home of the blessed, the united joy of the heavens will thrill through her immortal spirit, seeing her dear, dear Hungary free? Your views are divided on the subject, it may be; but can your views be divided upon the subject that it is the command of God to love your neighbors as you love yourselves? — that it is the duty of Christians, that it is the fundamental principle of the Christian religion, to do unto others as you desire others to do unto you? And if there is, there can be no difference of opinion in regard to the principle; if no one in this vast assembly — whatever be the platform of his party — ever would disclaim this principle, will any one blame me that in the name of Christ I am bold to claim the application of that principle? I should not speak of politics? Well, I have spoken of Christianity. Your politics either agree with the law of Christ, or they do not agree with it. If they don’t agree, then your politics are not Christian; and if they agree, then I cause no division among you.

And I shall not speak of my people’s wrongs? O, my people! —

thou heart of my heart, and life of my life, to thee are bent the thoughts of my mind, and they will remain bent to thee, though all the world may frown! To thee are pledged all the affections of my heart, and they will be pledged to thee as long as one drop of blood throbs within this heart! Thine are the cares of my waking hours; thine are the dreams of my restless sleep! Shall I forget thee, but for a moment? Never! never! Cursed be the moment, and cursed be I in that moment, in which thou wouldst be forgotten by me!

Thou art oppressed, O my father-land! because the principles of Christianity have not been executed in practice; because the duties of Christianity have not been fulfilled; because the precepts of Christianity have not been obeyed; because the law of Christianity did not control the policy of nations; because there are many impious governments to offend the law of Christ, but there was none to do the duties commanded by Christ!

Thou art fallen, O my country! because Christianity has yet to come; for it has not yet come — nowhere! Nowhere on earth! And with the sharp eye of misfortune piercing the dark veil of the future, and with the tongue of Cassandra relating what I see, I cry it out to high Heaven and shout it out to the earth,— Nations, proud of your momentary power, proud of your freedom, proud of your prosperity! Your power is vain, your freedom is vain; your industry, your wealth, your prosperity, are vain. All this will not save you from sharing the mournful fate of those old nations, not less powerful than you, not less free, not less prosperous than you,— and still fallen, as you yourselves will fall,— all vanished, as you will vanish, like a bubble thrown up from the deep! There is only the law of Christ, there are only the duties of Christianity, which can secure your future, by securing at the same time humanity!

Duties must be fulfilled, else they are an idle word. And who would dispute that there is a positive duty in that law, “Love thy neighbor as thou lovest thyself”? Do unto others as thou wouldst that others do unto thee? Now, if there are duties in that law comprised, who shall execute them, if free and powerful nations do not execute them? No government can meddle with the private relations of its millions of citizens so much as to enforce the positive virtue of Christian charity in the thousand-fold complications of private life. That will be impossible; and our Saviour did not teach impossibilities. By commanding charity towards fellow-men in human relation, he commanded it also to governments.

It is in their laws toward their own citizens, it is in their policy toward other nations, that governments and nations can fulfil those duties of Christianity; and what they can, that they should. How could governments hope to see their own citizens and other nations observing toward them the positive duties of Christian morality, when they themselves do not observe them against others,— when oppressed nations, the victims, not of their own faults, but of the grossest violation of the law of Christ, look in vain around to find out a nation among Christian

nations, and a government among Christian governments, doing unto them, in the hour of their supreme need, as the Saviour said that it is duty to do unto others in every case.

Yes, gentlemen, as long as the principles of Christian morality are not carried up into the international relations, as long as the fragile wisdom of political exigencies overrules the doctrines of Christ, there is no freedom on earth firm, and the future of no nation sure. But let a powerful nation, like yours, raise Christian morality into its public conduct, that nation will have a future against which the very gates of hell itself will never prevail. The morality of its policy will react upon the morality of its individuals, and preserve it from domestic vice, which, without that prop, ever yet has attended too much prosperity, and ever yet was followed by a dreadful fall. The morality of its policy will support justice and freedom on earth; and thus augmenting the number of free nations, all acting upon the same principle, its very future will be placed under the guarantee of them all, and preserve it from foreign danger, which it is better to prevent than to repel.

And its future will be placed under the guarantee of the Almighty himself, who, true to his eternal decrees, proved, through the downfall of so many mighty nations, that he always punished the fathers in the coming generations; but, alike bountiful and just, will not and cannot forsake those whom he gave power to carry out his laws on earth, and who willingly answered his divine call. Power, in itself, never yet was sure. It is right which makes power firm; and it is community which makes right secure. The task of Peter's apostolate is accomplished; the churches are founded in the Christian world. The task of Paul's apostolate is accomplished; the abuses of fanaticism and intolerance are redressed. But the task of him whom the Saviour most loved is not yet accomplished. The gospel of charity rules not yet the Christian world; and, without charity, Christianity, you know, is "but sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal."

O Charity! thou fairest gift of Heaven, thou family link between nations, thou rock of their security, thou deliverer of the oppressed! — when comes thy realm? Where is the man whom the Lord has chosen to establish thy realm? Who is the man whom the Lord has chosen to realize the religion, the tenets of which the most beloved disciple of the Saviour has recorded from his divine lips? who is the man to reform, not Christian creeds, but Christian morality? — Man? No, — that is no task for a man, but for a nation. Man may teach a doctrine; but that doctrine of charity is taught, and taught with such sublime simplicity, that no sectarist yet has disputed its truth.

Historians have been quarrelling about mysteries, and lost empires through their disputes. The Greeks were controversially disputing whether the Holy Ghost descends from the Father alone, or from the Father and Son; and when Mahomet battered the walls of Byzantium, they heard it not. He pulled down the cross from Santa Sophia; they saw it not, till the scimitar of the Turk stopped the rage of quarrel

with the blow of death; — in other quarters they went on disputing and deciding with mutual anathemas the question of transfiguration, and many other mysteries, which, being mysteries, constitute the private dominion of belief. But the doctrine of charity none of them disputes; there they all agree, — nay, in the idle times of scholastical subtilty, they have been quarrelling about the most extravagant fancies of a scorched imagination. Mighty folios have been written about the problem how many angels could dance upon the top of a needle without touching each other.

The folly of subtilty went so far as to profane the sacred name of God, by disputing if he, being omnipotent, has the power to sin; if, in the holy wafer, he be present dressed or undressed; if the Saviour would have chosen the incarnation in the shape of a gourd, instead of a man, how would he have preached, how acted miracles, and how have been crucified; and when they went to the theme of investigating if it was a whip or a lash with which the angels whipped St. Jerome for trying to imitate in his writings the pagan Cicero, it was but after centuries that Abbot Cartant dared to write that if St. Jerome was whipped at all, he was whipped for having badly imitated Cicero!

Still, the doctrine of Christian charity is so sublime in its simplicity that not even the subtilty of scholasticism dared ever to profane it by any controversy; and still that sublime doctrine is not executed, and the religion of charity is not realized yet. The task of this glorious progress is only to be done by a free and powerful nation, because it is a task of action, and not of teaching. Individual man can but execute it in the narrow compass of the small relations of private life. It is only the power of a nation which can raise it to become a ruling law on earth; and, before this is done, the triumph of Christianity is not arrived; — and, without that triumph, freedom and prosperity, even of the mightiest nation, is not for a moment safe from internal decay, or from foreign violence.

Which is the nation to achieve that triumph of Christianity, by protecting justice with charity? Which shall do it, if not yours, whom the Lord has blessed above all, and from whom he much expects, because he has given it much?

Ye ministers of the gospel, who have devoted your life to expound the eternal truth of the book of life, remember my humble words, and remind those who with pious hearts listen to your sacred words that half virtue is no virtue at all, and that there is no difference in the duties of charity between public and private life.

Ye missionaries, who have devoted your life to the propagation of Christianity, before you embark for the dangers of far inhospitable shores, remind those whom you leave that the example of a nation exercising right and justice on earth by charity would be the mightiest propagandism of the Christian religion.

Ye patriots, loving your country's future, and anxious about her security, remember the admonitions of history; remember that the

freedom, the power and the prosperity, in which your country glories, is no new apparition on earth; — others also have had it, and yet they are gone. The prudence with which your forefathers have founded this commonwealth, the courage with which you develop it, other nations also have shown, and still they are gone.

And ye, ladies,— ye fairest incarnation of the spirit of love, which vivifies the universe,— remember my words. The heart of man is given into your tender hands; you mould it in its infancy; you imprint the lasting work of character upon man's brow; you ennoble his youth; you soften the harshness of his manhood; you are the guardian angels of his hoary age. All your vocation is love, and your life is charity. The religion of charity wants your apostolate, and requires your aid. It is to you I appeal, and leave the sublime topic of my humble reflection to the meditation of your Christian hearts.

And thus my task of to-day is done. Man shall earn the means of life by the sweat of his brow. Thus shall my family. Your charity of to-day has opened the way to it. The school which my mother, if God spares her life, will superintend, and in which two of my sisters will teach, and the humble farm which my third sister and her family shall work, will be the gift of your charity to-day.

A stony weight of cares is removed from my breast. O, be blessed for it, be thanked for it, in the name of them all, who have lost everything, but not their trust to God, and not the benefit of being able to work! My country will forgive me that I have taken from her the time of one day's work, to give bread to my aged mother and to my homeless sisters, the poor victims of unrelenting tyranny. Returning to Europe, I may find my own little children in a condition that again the father will have to take the spade or the pen into his hand to give them bread.

And my father-land will again forgive me that that time is taken from her. That is all, what I take from her; nothing else what is given, or what belongs to her. And the day's work which I take from my country I will restore it by a night's labor. To-day, the son and the brother has done his task. You have requited his labor by a generous charity; the son and the brother thanks you for it, and the patriot, to resume his task, bids you a hearty, warm farewell!

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